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ABSTRACT

A teachers' guide is presented that accompanies the video production of "The Other Boston Tea Party," a play used to teach about the U.S. Constitution and American legal and political systems. The play combines a comedy of manners with an historical approach to the issues surrounding the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate over ratification of the Constitution. In creating a warm but confrontational friendship between aging Revolutionary War populist--Samuel Adams--and the rising young statesman--Harrison Gray Otis, the play creates characters who illuminate the often passionately held issues of the era. The guide is divided into three parts: (1) the introduction, which includes suggestions for teachers and historical background material; (2) a detailed section paralleling the 10 scenes of the play and its prologue; and (3) appendices with special teaching tips, the complete glossary, and an index to activities. (DB)

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The Other Boston Tea Party

TEACHER'S GUIDE

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Published by

New England Foundation for the Humanities
Boston, Massachusetts

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Boston, MA 02111

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Introduction

This play is a pioneering model for teaching history . . . . If we had ten such gems to illuminate topics from colonial days to the 20th century, . . . we might begin to turn the teaching of history upside down and breathe new life and humanity into it. The excellence of this play is that it breaks down the barrier between "history" and "art" and utilizes imaginative resources to bring the past to life.

Dr. John Anthony Scott
Co-Chair of the American Historical Society's
Committee for History in the Classroom.

Often the most difficult part of teaching about the Constitution and our legal and political systems is getting students interested in the issues. "The Other Boston Tea Party" tackles this problem by combining the sophisticated entertainment of a comedy of manners with an historical approach to the issues and ideas surrounding the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate over Constitutional ratification.

"The Other Boston Tea Party" uses character and drama to provoke interest in the Federalist debate and then provides a solid first step to discussions of the often complex issues of that debate. The beauty of "Tea Party" is that it is *not* a documentary. While its primary purpose is to illustrate an era, it does this not by listing facts and presenting interpretations of those facts. Rather, it uses artistic resources to create characters and, through those characters, to illuminate the often passionately held issues of the era. As we understand the reasoning of our Constitution's founders, we are better prepared to understand our current political and legal structures.

At the pedagogical center of "The Other Boston Tea Party" is the Aristotelian notion that poetry "by nature is more philosophical than history." By presenting historical issues in a "poetic" context, the Constitution and its era take on a vitality which will lead students to traditional text-based histories. The Constitution really *matters* to the characters of the play. Because we care about the characters, we, too, begin to care about the Constitution.

The Play Described

> *. . . the struggle over the Constitution, as the debate if nothing else makes clear, can best be understood as a social one. Whatever the particular constituency of the antagonists may have been, men in 1787-88 talked as if they were representing distinct and opposing social elements. Both the proponents and opponents of the Constitution focused throughout the debates on an essential point of the political sociology that ultimately must be used to distinguish a Federalist from an Anti-Federalist. The quarrel was fundamentally one between aristocracy and democracy.*
>
> Gordon Wood
> *The Creation of the American Republic*

In "The Other Boston Tea Party," Jack Carroll creates a warm but confrontational friendship between the aging Revolutionary era populist--Samuel Adams--and the rising young statesman--Harrison Gray Otis. In an imagined, but highly-plausible encounter, Otis visits Adams and his wife Betsey to seek the elder statesman's vote for the newly-written Constitution. Over tea, Otis calls for greater energy in government, while Adams worries about the loss of liberty and the dangers of change.

The playwright has skillfully used the Adams-Otis dialogue to illustrate the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate and also to suggest the importance of social and generational factors in the Constitutional struggle. His treatment of the Tea Assembly controversy highlights conflicting notions of republican civic virtue, while his two strong female characters speak to the issue of citizenship and minority rights in a republican society.

To insure historical integrity, Jack Carroll worked in consultation with Prof. Robert Gross, author of *The Minutemen and their World*, and Bruce Fraser, Executive Director of the Connecticut Humanities Council. The script withstood the scrutiny of New England's best colonial historians during two regional tours. Pauline Maier, chair of History at M.I.T., commented:

> *I have witnessed various efforts to portray Samuel Adams in non-historical works, and they almost all end up being clichéd restatements of discredited scholarship. To see him portrayed in an historically accurate way, and in a play that was in fact both instructive and entertaining, was a surprise and a delight.*

Project Background

In the Spring and Fall of 1987, a professional theater production of "The Other Boston Tea Party" toured 75 New England cities and towns. Each live performance of the play was followed by a short introductory lecture and discussion led by a colonial historian or political scientist. Audiences were delighted by the drama and intrigued enough to stay for and participate in the discussion. At a performance in Maine, the State Legislature even gave the play a standing ovation. It was surprising to many that history could be so interesting and so "invigorating."

During the first tour of the play, we began to receive calls and letters from teachers asking if "The Other Boston Tea Party" would be available on video for use in their classrooms. They recognized the vitality that the play brings to the issues. After leading one discussion, Dr. John Anthony Scott, co-chair of the American History Association's Committee for History in the Classroom, wrote: "This play is a pioneering model for teaching history in our schools. It would be a shame if it were not possible to make all of this work of permanent benefit to the American public."

In hopes of achieving that goal, the New England Foundation for the Humanities has produced this videotape and viewer's guide.

The People Behind the Project

Guy Hermann, Project Director, joined the project just before the play's first New England tour in 1986. He took over the work of Lisa McElaney, who did much of the preliminary work which made the project possible. He has had a number of different careers, including professional sailor, English teacher, computer systems consultant, and humanities project director.

Denise Merrill, Associate Project Director, has a law degree and has worked with the Connecticut Law-Related Education program for 10 years. She organizes and leads workshops and teacher training programs and looks for innovative ways to teach children about law and history.

Lorenca Consuelo Rosal, Teacher's Guide Author, has a Masters degree in education from Boston University. She is the past director of the New Hampshire Council for Law-Related Education. Her educational materials have been published nationally and have received both state and national awards. She is currently developing curriculum for the Center for Civic Education.

Jack Carroll, Playwright, received a BA in English from Gettysburg College and a MA in Playwriting from Southern Illinois University. More than 30 of his plays have been produced on stage and on public television. He has taught at Harvard University, Brown University, Rhode Island College, and the Trinity Rep Conservatory. Jack is currently Assistant professor of Communications Arts at Valdosta State College in Georgia. In addition to teaching and directing, he is researching material for his next play which will be set in the South at the turn of the century.

June Judson, Director of the original production, has had a commitment to new plays which dates back to Poet's Theater in Cambridge. She has acted and directed in Boston, New York City, London and Berlin. She was Artistic Director of the People's Theatre and is founder and Artistic Director of Theatre in Process which is dedicated to the discovery of playwriting talent. June is the recipient of numerous grants and awards and is the author of *Freedom and Angelina*, produced under a grant from the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy.

Greg Harney, Producer and Director of the videotape is the recipient of an Emmy award, four Emmy nominations, an International Monitor Award, two Gavel Awards, and the Peabody Award during his 38-year career in broadcasting. He has been a member of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Broadcasting and an Executive Producer with WGBH Educational Television. He is currently President of Greg Harney Productions, Inc. He is also President of the Board of Trustees of the DeCordova Museum in Lincoln, Massachusetts.

Robert Gross, Historical Consultant, first suggested using the tea assembly controversy as the center of the drama and worked with the playwright to insure historic integrity. He is the author of the widely admired *The Minutemen and their World* and is currently Director of the American Studies program at the College of William and Mary in Virginia.

Richard Lawrence plays Samuel Adams. He worked during the 1960s in New York's first Off-Off Broadway coffeehouse theatre and with the Broadway Actors' Guild. Since coming to New England, he has directed and acted with many theatres around Boston, most recently directing the world premier of Robert Clyman's *The Hill-Matheson Affair* for Theatre in Process. He founded the acting company for the Pirandello Lyceum which toured universities and libraries presenting the works of Pirandello.

Shirley Nemetz-Ress plays Betsey Adams. She has performed in the American Repertory Theater production of *Right You Are*, in *The Workroom* at the New Repertory Theatre, and as the mother in *Natives*

on the Green with the Boston Playwrights Theatre. She has performed in staged readings for Playwrights Platform. She conceived, produced and performed in the mother/daughter dramatic collage *Hold Me! Let Me Go!* and in *Man and Woman*. She has been seen in local industrials and commercials for television and films. Shirley coaches actors privately.

Jonathan Voyce plays Harrison Gray Otis. He comes from Arizona via New York City. He played Harrison in the second tour of the "The Other Boston Tea Party" in the fall of 1987. He is a graduate of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, where he played numerous major roles, including C. C. Showers in *The Diviners* and Doc Porter in *Crimes of the Heart*. He has appeared Off-Off Broadway in *Zense* at the Parsons Theatre and *Whodunit* at Theatre 13.

Andrea Southwick plays Sally Foster. She graduated from the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York City and spent an additional year with their production company. She has also worked in repertory companies in New England, performing in productions including *Passion*, *The Crucible*, and *Arms and the Man*. She has also performed at the New Repertory Theater, The Lyric Stage, and the Gloucester Stage Company.

Steven B. Hall, Production Designer, a graduate of Carnegie-Mellon, has designed productions in Boston at the Loon and Heron Theatre, the Huntington Theatre, and the Next Move Theatre. Recent designs include *Armande and Marguerett* in New York, *Something's Afoot* at Middlesex School, and *Typhoid Mary* and *The Hill-Matheson Affair* for Theatre in Process.

Kaja Autler, Costume Designer, is a graduate of the Academy for Applied Art in Vienna, Austria. She has worked in educational and professional theatre as a designer and costumer. Kaja designed costumes for Theatre in Process productions of *My Blue Heaven* and *Typhoid Mary*.

With Special Thanks to: Charles Bickford, Bruce Fraser, Ron Lettieri, Pauline Maier, Lisa McElaney, Tom Roberts, Donald Salvucci, Dorothy Schwartz, Victor Swenson, and David Tebaldi.

Suggestions & Sundry for Teachers

The purpose of this guide is to offer some ideas and suggestions to those who wish to use the videotape of "The Other Boston Tea Party" as a teaching tool. This guide contains discussion questions, essays, primary source materials, student activities and an annotated bibliography. But more important than the practical aid the guide will give the teacher, we hope it will help further enquiry into the values and principles upon which our country was founded and to encourage a new generation of Sally Fosters and Harrison Otises to become actively involved in their nation's future by better understanding its past.

We urge you to encourage students to emulate Harry and Sally and to choose a community or school project with which to get involved--a political campaign, a volunteer social program, a petition drive, a recycling project, a letter-writing campaign, etc. With your help, they can be encouraged to become active partners in preserving our democratic republic for another 200 years; for, as Harrison Otis reminds us, "Politics is everyman's business."

Organization of the Viewer's Guide

This guide is divided into three parts: 1) the introduction which includes suggestions for teachers and historical background material; 2) detailed sections paralleling the 10 scenes of the play and its prologue; and 3) appendices with special teaching tips, the complete *Glossary*, and an index to activities.

Each scene division includes:

A **Scene Synopsis** which is illustrated with stills and excerpts from the play. These may be reproduced and posted to assist viewers in recalling the sequence of events in the play.

Discussion questions may also be reproduced and distributed.

Suggestions for classroom management and other information for teachers is highlighted in **Take Note** segments.

One or more multi-disciplinary reinforcement and/or **Enrichment Activities**.

Difficult and special vocabulary words used in each scene are highlighted in the **Glossary** section and are defined in the context of the play.

Further Reading segments offer suggestions for further reading on various subjects suggested in the play.

The scenes are punctuated with **Essays** written by noted scholars in order to give viewers background information on important topics and issues addressed in the play.

Using the Videotape in the Classroom

Creative teachers can use this viewing guide to amplify American studies, theatre arts and other disciplines. The following are a few suggested ways to use "The Other Boston Tea Party" in the classroom. Each plan requires differing amounts of class and preparation time. Variations in student ability level, previous knowledge of American history, literature and government, as well as limitations on class time necessitate a flexible approach.

Specific study questions, amplifying material and reinforcement activities, are included in later sections of the guide. The following teaching plans are presented here to whet your appetite and start your own creative juices flowing, as you read the rest of the guide and preview the videotape.

Central Themes

A set of discussion questions follows each scene synopsis. These questions are designed to highlight the following general themes and topics:

- Articles of Confederation v. U.S. Constitution
- The Role of Women in a Changing Society
- Generational Conflict
- The Nature of Individual Liberty
- Civic Virtue in the New Republic

Questions vary in difficulty, from those which require mere recollection of fact to interpretative questions that may require students to draw on additional knowledge, not presented in the play, in order to answer the questions fully.

As a teacher, you will need to use your own judgment in selecting those questions most appropriate to your students' academic achievement levels and prior knowledge of the historical period. It is suggested that you ask questions of recall of fact to your lower achievers and inference and deduction questions to your higher achievers. In this way, you can meet the needs of all your students, challenging them intellectually and keeping the discussion creative and educationally productive for all.

Discussion in Two Sessions

Session 1

a. Give a brief introduction to the play and historical period. Write a series of "Questions to Consider" on the chalkboard in order to highlight the themes in the play that you plan on discussing afterwards. For example, "What is each character's opinion of the new Constitution?" or, "Is the 'generation gap' resolved at the end of the play? If so, how?"

b. View the videotape in its entirety with the class (approximately one hour viewing time).

c. As a homework assignment, have students prepare answers to the questions you have listed on the chalkboard.

Session 2

a. Reconvene the class. Quickly summarize the play using the synopsis provided in the guide or ask students to do so.

b. Use the homework assignment as a vehicle to discuss key themes in the play, adding further questions of your own to elicit discussion. (See sample discussion questions in guide under the heading "Discussion Questions.")

c. Summarize the discussion at the end of the session. You may then wish to assign reinforcement or enrichment activities suggested throughout the guide under the heading, "Enrichment Activities." (In particular, note the concluding activities suggested on page 98.)

Discussion in Three Sessions

Session 1

a. After a brief introduction, view the videotape with your class (approximately one hour viewing time).

b. Afterwards, have students write down three questions they have about the play. Collect the questions and use them as a basis to plan your discussion.

Session 2

a. Summarize or group the student questions into categories. Write the categories and possibly some sample questions on the chalkboard. For example, *Generation Gap*, *Articles of Confederation v. Constitution*, and *Role of Women*.

b. View the videotape a second time with your class. Stop and start the videotape at appropriate times to initiate discussion. For example, after viewing scene five, stop the tape and ask, "What did Samuel mean by the word, 'faction'?" Do we have factions in America today? Are they part of our country's strength, weakness, or a little of both?"

c. Have students select one of the topics you have discussed during this session. Ask them to write a letter to Samuel Adams explaining and justifying their opinion on the topic.

Session 3

a. Complete the second viewing of the videotape, amplifying it with class discussion.

b. Ask students to help you summarize the most important points in the play. List these points on the chalkboard.

c. Assign a follow-up activity. For example, have students write a play review for their school or local newspaper. Or ask them to create a poster to advertise a community showing of the videotape.

Discussion in Five Sessions

Session 1

a. Begin with an introductory class activity, selected to fit your students' interest and prior knowledge. For example, if your students are already studying the ratification period, have them participate in a tavern roleplay (see page 95) to help elucidate the key points in the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate.

Later, after viewing the play, refer back to this activity. Would your students say or do anything differently, after having acquired new knowledge or insights from the play?

End this session with a preview of the play and its characters.

Sessions 2 and 3

Follow the viewing approach used in "Discussion in Three Sessions" above.

Session 4

Having viewed and discussed the play, assign follow-up, multi-disciplinary activities to individual students or small groups. For example, one group might begin a clipping thesis (see "On Board," page 25), in which they collect current news articles that highlight the ongoing debate in our society between centralized versus local government or clippings which illustrate the need for active community service.

Another group might plan a TV talk show (see "Good Morning New England," page 97), in which one student hosts a discussion between the play's characters, augmented with "audience" questions. (You may wish to limit the range of the show by focusing on only one topic, for example, the role of women in the 18th century versus today.) Students may wish to audio or videotape their production and "distribute" it to other classrooms, or play it after a community showing of "The Other Boston Tea Party," as a means to initiate audience discussion of the play.

Session 5

At a later date, after individuals and small groups have had time to complete their assignments, schedule class presentations. Alternately, have students set up activity centers in the classroom or school hallway, at which they display the posters, news articles, diary entries, video or audio tapes, bulletin board displays, etc. which they have created.

Historical Background

Taking Liberties

While historians agree that "The Other Boston Tea Party" accurately portrays the issues and characters of the era of the Constitution's ratification, at times the playwright has taken liberties with historical fact. Most obviously, Otis and Adams were not close friends. A number of minor errors also have crept in: Adams, for example, will vote at a special ratification *Convention* not at the *Senate*, as Otis says.

In producing the play, great care was taken to authenticate locations and costumes. However, some inaccuracies were unavoidable here also, such as the wallpaper in the Adams living room which is actually circa 1810. It is also unlikely that Adams would have had oranges on his kitchen table.

You may wish, either before or after viewing the play, to point out these inaccuracies and possibly discuss the concept of artistic license and when and under what circumstances it is justified. You may also wish to raise the larger question of whether it is ever truly possible for us to understand the past and the way those who lived before us viewed themselves and their times. This discussion might lead to other questions, such as:

- Do we define "truth" differently in different academic disciplines?
- Should we study history the way we study science?
- How can looking at historical inaccuracies lead to a better, more truthful understanding of the broader historical picture?

An essay based on material prepared by Ron Lettieri, "History as Art/Art as History," may give you some ideas about ways to approach these complex issues. This essay begins on the following page.

Another good resource for helping students create their own interpretive recreations is Marjorie Montgomery's booklet *Interpretive Recreations of Historical Events*. This booklet is available from:

Center for Research and Development
in Law-Related Education
Wake Forest University School of Law
P.O. Box 7206, Reynolds Station
Winston-Salem, NC 27109

Art as History/History as Art

Adapted from materials prepared by
Prof. Ron Lettieri
Mount Ida College

A typical first reaction to the "The Other Boston Tea Party" is to ask: Was Samuel Adams *really* that way? Did Betsey *really* influence her husband's political views so much? Did Otis *actually* squabble with Adams over a Tea Assembly in Boston? Clearly, a teacher needs to answer such questions and to point out any historical inaccuracies that may surface in the play. However, if students identify these as safe questions to ask, the discussion of the "Tea Party" can sink to the mundane of historical trivia rather than focusing on the issues and ideas central to the play.

An alternative is to use questions about historical authenticity to spawn class research projects which reveal the accuracy of the subjects of the play. To follow this traditional pathway exclusively, however, would overlook the possibility of using the "historical authenticity" approach to generate a more sophisticated discussion of the nature of the study of history.

Such a discussion rises naturally out of the heated exchange between Sally and Otis over "The Politician Out-Witted" in scene nine. Sally and Otis represent both classical and 18th-century views of the role of the arts in society. Otis is shocked that "a man has written a play about the new Constitution before it has even been ratified!" He objects to it further saying: "It is immoral. All plays are immoral. Toss it in the fire." Here he reflects an essentially Platonic view of the arts as a direct threat to the body politic because they incite the passions of the citizenry rather than their reason.

Sally's response: "[are you] afraid I shall be tainted by this licentious work of fiction? Really, Harry. If a devil pops through this door, I shall call you immediately." She rejects Otis' view of the play as immoral. She tells Harry: "In this scene, the old politician throws his own son out because he likes the new Constitution. And the old man hates it. He thinks the Articles of Confederation are sufficient. Here, look for yourself. Page fifty-three." By focusing on the characters and the content of the play, Sally takes the essentially Aristotelian position that the arts provide a *superior* mode of historical inquiry because they seek to represent the inward significance rather than the outward appearance of things.

These classical principles--and Sally's and Otis' portrayal of them--were also reflected in the writings of America's founding fathers. For John Adams the flourishing of the arts was the surest path to ruin for a republic. To him, the arts were associated with vice and luxury and destroyed reason among the citizenry by replacing their sense of the

common good with private satisfaction. On the other side, Ezra Stiles, Benjamin Franklin, John Trumbull, and Philip Freneau thought the rise of American arts and letters would not spell the demise of the American republic, but rather was the manifestation of the Revolution's highest principle, freedom.

In this context, if we ask students to consider the differences between history and the arts, they may be surprised to discover that they see art as catering solely to passion and pleasure and that they hold to the Plato-Adams-Otis view of history as the repository of absolute truth and as a teacher of principles and laws. "The Other Boston Tea Party" can help students to see that while the "facts" of an artistic expression might not always be correct, a strong case can be made that the *essence* of history is more truly portrayed in an artistic form. As R. G. Collingwood and Gene Wise have aptly demonstrated, the study of history is in fact highly impressionistic and shares many common methods and techniques with art.

The questions for discussion then become: is studying history as much art as it is science? And is historical "truth" perhaps *best* represented by artistic expressions? When we look at the "Tea Party" from this perspective, "Was Sam Adams *really* that way" becomes a secondary question.

FURTHER READING

Davidson, Cathy. *Revolution & the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Elliot, Emory. *Revolutionary Writers: Literature & Authority in the New Republic, 1725-1810*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982

Ellis, Joseph. *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979.

Fish, Stanley. *Is There a Text in this Class*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.

La Capra Dominick. *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts Contexts, Language*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

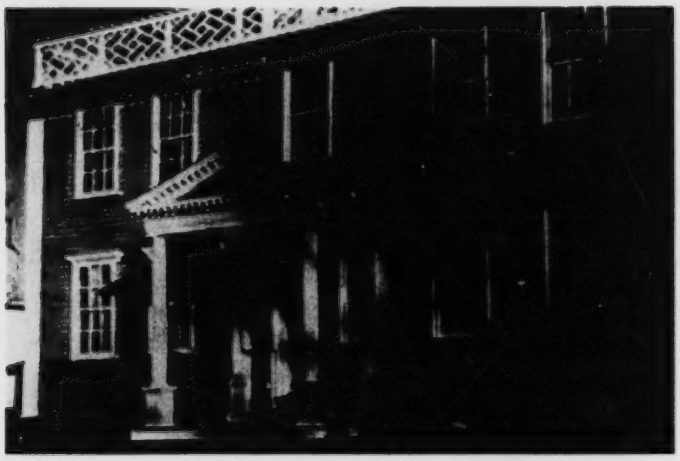
Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University press, 1973.

On Location

The historical locations used in the videotape are under the protection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA). Scenes of the Adams home were videotaped at the Coffin House (c. 1654) in Newbury, Massachusetts.

Scenes at the Foster Home were videotaped at the Josiah Quincy House (1770) in Wollaston, Massachusetts.



Although the Harrison Gray Otis Home (1796), in central Boston, was not used for this production, it too is owned by SPNEA, is used for their administrative offices, and is open year round for tour.

Cast of Characters

Samuel Adams (1722-1803)

Samuel Adams belonged to the generation which made the American Revolution. He was, as Jefferson called him, "truly the *Man of the Revolution.*" Although he was born into a well-to-do family in Boston and received considerable financial help from his father, Adams never succeeded in business. Politics was his forte. He was already a well-established Boston politico when the dispute with Great Britain erupted in the mid-1760s. As a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, he led the fight against the Stamp Act. An organizer and leading figure in the Boston Committee of Correspondence, he remained at the center of revolutionary protest throughout the period. He organized opposition to the Townshend duties, was a leading critic of British troops in the Boston Massacre in 1770, and orchestrated the Boston Tea Party, which led the colony into irreversible confrontation with British authority. He also served as a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses, signed the Declaration of Independence, and helped frame the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. Although he attended the state ratifying convention in 1788, served as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts (1789-94), his real work seemed over by 1776. It is interesting to note that in that year, Adams was fifty-four years old--ten years the senior of George Washington and twenty-one years older than Thomas Jefferson. To Harrison Otis, he was literally the old man of the Revolution.

Frequently pictured as an impetuous, rabble-rousing firebrand, Adams was, in fact, a restrained and cautious tactician. Like Franklin, John Adams and others, he came to champion independence only after the repeated failure of constitutional protest. What he brought to the struggle once he committed himself, was a zealous sense of republican virtue and a genius for writing and organizing. Though he recognized differences in talent among men, he was passionately opposed to wealth, display and artificial distinctions of rank--all of which were embodied in young Harry Otis.

Where Otis was a rising aristocrat, Adams remained throughout his life a traditional New Englander, who lived a plain and frugal life. So also did his wife, Elizabeth Wells, whom he married in 1764, after the death of his first wife. Adams found it hard to unbend, even with Betsey, but their relationship was clearly a happy one based on shared values, deep mutual respect, and, one suspects, a forgiving tolerance of his eccentricities by his wife.

Adams died on October 2, 1803. On the following day, William Bentley of Salem, wrote in his diary: ". . . He was feared by his enemies, but too secret to be loved by his friends. He did not put confidence in them, while he was of importance to them . . . He preserved the severity of Cato in his manners, and the dogmatism of a priest in his religious observances."

Elizabeth Wells Adams (1735-1808)

There is little substantial information concerning the second wife of Samuel Adams. Her piety, skill in household management, and devotion to her husband (in spite of the irregular lifestyle of a revolutionary politician) were her most frequently-cited characteristics. They were married in 1764, just before Adams' rise to public prominence during the Stamp Act crisis. She seems to have been politically-minded herself for she never attempted to wean her husband from politics to any more secure employment. Indeed, in the years of the revolution, when Samuel was away serving in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, one of her chief pleasures was keeping him informed of developments in Boston politics.

Samuel Adams, however, was slow in recognizing his wife's interests. Mary Beth Norton, in her *Liberty's Daughters*, notes that "early in 1776, Samuel 'for once' included a 'political anecdote' in a letter to her. Later that same year, prefacing his remarks with the accurate observation that 'it has not been usual for me to write you of War or Politicks,' Samuel nevertheless transmitted the most recent political and military news because he knew, he said, 'how deeply you have always interested yourself in the Welfare of our Country.' Although in 1780 he was still wondering if he should 'trouble' her with his reflections on public affairs, the following year he formally challenged the conventional outlines of the feminine sphere by declaring, 'I see no Reason why a Man may not communicate his political opinions to his wife, if he pleases.'"

A further anecdote indicates that Samuel's admission of Elizabeth to political discussions was not limited to the one-way communication of husband to wife. In the mid-1790s, in the wake of the news of the pro-British Jay's Treaty, mobs rioted in Boston. Complaints from anxious conservatives soon reached Adams, who was then serving as governor. Adams, however, anti-British still and pro-Jacobin, scoffed at the concerns of the Federalists and declared the mobs to be no threat. Elizabeth disagreed. Recognizing that public order was in danger, she advised her husband to "look around" and take action.

Sally Foster Otis (1770-1836)

Biographical information on the wife of Harrison Gray Otis is very sparse. Her father was William Foster, a substantial Boston merchant. She was wed to Otis in 1790 and bore him eleven children, nine of whom survived to adulthood. Otis' biographer, Samuel Eliot Morison, notes that in temperament, she was very much like her husband. Rufus Griswold, in his account of the upper-class society of the then-national capital city, Philadelphia, in the 1790s, notes that Sally was "remarkable for beauty and wit, as well as for an intellectual vivacity, tempered always by an indescribable grace."

Although Otis himself was noted for his political ambitions, his love for his wife and devotion to his family were apparently decisive factors in his decision to leave his seat in the House of Representatives in 1802. Although he was elected to the Senate in 1817, Otis declined serving a second term and returned to local politics once again.

Sally Foster was perhaps not typical of her time in being politically aware, but there is evidence that she remained informed about Harrison's political life. The correspondence between the two is remarkable both for its enlightened political discourse and the romantic nature of their relationship. Reading these letters, Samuel Eliot Morison, biographer of Otis, concludes that Sally was clearly "his confidante in political matters" as well as his "dearest friend" throughout the many years of their marriage. The letter reprinted here, from Morison's *Life and letters of Harrison Gray Otis*, was written when Harrison and Sally were both in their thirties and had been married for more than ten years.

Washington,
February 23, 1801

My *dearest friend,*

Your patriotic permission to me to remain her until the 4th instant, has rendered you so popular with the Federal part of the house that I believe they would gladly make you Speaker in the room of . . S . . but I wish to see you in no chair, until I see you in an easy chair in your own chambers, where I should take the liberty to taste of your cheek--

I have no earthly thing to add, having already written to Sophia this morning, and am (in a great worry to see you) as always

Yr truly affect.
H G Otis

Harrison Gray Otis (1765-1848)

Harrison Gray Otis was born into a prominent Boston family and was a perfect foil for Samuel Adams. Too young to participate in the Revolution, he was connected to that momentous event through his uncle James Otis and his aunt Mercy Otis Warren. His father was a merchant who speculated heavily during the Revolutionary War and went bankrupt after its close. Young Otis inherited a much-diminished fortune along with his father's distinguished name, sharp mind and winning personality. Unlike the austere and puritanical Adams, Harry, as he was called by his friends, enjoyed life to the fullest.

With Adams, he shared a deep love of New England. He was educated at Harvard College and graduated first in the class of 1783. As ambitious young men were wont to do with increasing frequency, he read law. He was admitted to the Boston bar in 1786 and quickly rose to a leading place, earning a large income for the period and acquiring within ten years considerable property, largely by aggressive speculation in Boston real estate.

In 1790, Otis married Sally Foster after a four-year engagement. They immediately plunged into Boston society and built a succession of mansions in Boston which were centers of Boston hospitality. In 1816, John Q. Adams said of Otis: "In the course of nearly thirty years that I have known him, and throughout the range of experience that I have had in that time, it has not fallen to my lot to meet a man more skilled in the useful art of entertaining his friends than Otis . . . ." His success was due in no small part to Sally, who was his match in high-spirited charm. They were married until Sally's death in 1836, at the age of 66. She bore him eleven children.

Otis remained a staunch Federalist throughout most of his long and distinguished career. He served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1802 through 1817, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1817, but felt frustrated by the "unfriendly" atmosphere of Washington D.C. and his failure to obtain payment of the Massachusetts war claims. In 1822 he resigned his seat in order to run for mayor of Boston. His defeat and his failure the following year to gain the governorship signaled the downward turn of his political career and marked as well the growing weakness of the Federalist party in its last stronghold.

Otis' political misfortunes in the 1820s, like those of his party, were due in no small part to his participation in the infamous Hartford Convention of 1814, where representatives from several New England states met to consider proposals to increase states' rights. They felt that the embargo imposed by Madison during the War of 1812 unfairly penalized New England's trade interests. Actually, Otis was a

moderating influence at the Convention, channeling radical discontent into constitutional protest. But he was nevertheless branded as a secessionist and he spent the rest of his life publishing letters and articles aiming to set the record straight.

Otis never relinquished his interest in public affairs. He publicly denounced and privately abhorred the abolitionist movement, which he felt would ultimately divide the Union. He also refused to countenance any suppression of free speech on slavery. On the subject of democracy he was adamant: a nation that elected Andrew Jackson and permitted Irish immigrants to vote, he felt, was surely doomed. Still he remained in the fray. In 1848, at the age of eighty-three, he was still publishing outraged letters, including a pungent argument against the "fifteen-gallon" temperance law. He actively supported General Taylor for president, but died before the end of the campaign at his Boston residence on October 28, 1848.

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A Nation in Jeopardy

by Christopher Collier and James Lincoln Collier
Excerpted with permission from
Chapter 1 of *Decision in Philadelphia*

It was all going wrong. George Washington saw it, and he wrote a friend that something had to be done "To avert the humiliating and contemptible figure we are about to make on the annals of mankind." William Grayson, a Congressman from Virginia, wrote to James Madison that if things did not change, "We shall be one of the most contemptible nations on the face of the Earth." James Madison wrote to James Monroe, "If the present paroxysm of our affairs be totally neglected, our case may become desperate."

It had seemed so promising in the beginning. They had thought they were founding a nation that would last for the ages, and when they had finally, miraculously, beaten the mightiest nation on earth and found themselves one bright morning independent, they had taken it as a sign that the Almighty was shining on them. At the end of the Revolution, Americans were sure that they were a special people with a special role in history. They would "show to the nations of the Earth," wrote Samuel Adams, "what will be a most singular phenomenon amidst all the jarring interests, subtlety, and rage of politics," a people with virtue enough to practice frugality, honesty, self-denial, and benevolence, to become, in short a "Christian Sparta," a model to the world.

Their country had been formed piecemeal. The colonies were created at different times under different philosophies of life, ranging from the hard-bitten Calvinism of New England to the worldly hedonism of the Deep South. Before 1776, there was no American government as such; each colony had its own legislature, and a council and governor who were usually appointed by the Crown. Such government as there was for "America" sat in London. In a considerable measure the colonies managed to escape much of the onerous legislation and go their own way.

With the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the legal basis of all these colonial governments was undermined, and the various states set about writing constitutions and creating new governments for themselves. Each was now, in effect, an independent nation. It was, however, perfectly clear that the newly free colonies could not fight a common war against the British without some common government, and in June 1776, the delegates from the states at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia voted to draw up what one of them called "a firm league of Friendship."

The basic principle underlying the Articles of Confederation was that each state would remain "sovereign." Precisely what that was supposed to mean nobody knew, but what it did mean was that the states could ignore with impunity legislation passed by the Congress. The Congress would request the states to pay taxes, usually proportioned according to population, but it had no way of forcing the state governments actually to hand over the money. Invariably some states found excuses for not paying their share, and once one or two refused, the others would balk, saying that they would not pay until all the rest did.

When peace came, it brought with it problems just as trying. Among the most pressing were a congeries of difficulties with foreign nations. For example, the Spanish owned the land stretching west from the banks of the Mississippi, as well as New Orleans at the river's mouth, and were claiming a vast amount of land on the American side. As the centerpiece of a complex river system draining millions of acres of western lands, the Mississippi was the only practical means of transport out of that huge territory. It was crucial to the exploitation of the area, but in 1784 the Spanish closed the river from Natchez south.

Unfortunately, the U.S. could do nothing about either Spanish or English incursions, because the moment the Revolution was over, the army was disbanded: nobody wanted to pay taxes to support a standing army. As a consequence, the armed forces dwindled to seven hundred ill-equipped men.

Then there were the Indians. Both the English and the Spanish were supplying them with arms and encouraging them to raid frontier settlements. American settlers were terrorized. Although many Americans were aware that the frontier battling was not primarily the fault of the Indians, in the minds of many the question of where the fault lay was irrelevant: the main point was that the hapless American government could not control the situation. Frightened, many of the western settlers were ready to go over to the Spanish.

There was more trouble in the Mediterranean, where the Barbary pirates were preying on American shipping and where American traders were shut out of the British West Indies trade since they were now outside the British Empire. Shippers were eager to reopen that trade if possible, or negotiate trade treaties with other European nations to make up the loss.

There were obvious solutions to these foreign policy problems, and a firm government might have found them. But unfortunately, getting the states to agree to anything proved impossible. As one example, in 1785 Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, three shipping states eager to reopen the West Indies trade, passed laws restricting British trade in their ports, hoping to force concessions from the British in the West Indies. But Connecticut, seeing a chance to draw the British trade to itself, refused to join the others, and the scheme foundered.

Even if treaties were made between the young government and its European competitors, there was considerable doubt that the U.S. Congress could enforce them on American citizens. As only one example, Georgia and North Carolina ignored congressional treaties with Indians and supplanted them with their own. Indeed, it was the British view that "no treaty can be made with the American states that can be binding on all of them . . . when treaties are necessary, they must be made with the states separately." The judgement certainly seemed correct.

Conflicts of interest among the states made it difficult for Congress to shape a cohesive domestic policy, too. In general the states with ports, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Charleston, were taking advantage of their geography to tax goods imported through them by merchants in their neighboring states. States such as New Jersey and Connecticut were outraged that the New York government was being supported at their expense. Congress was simply too weak to force a solution on the quarreling states.

Nor was it able to sort out the conflicting claims to the immensely valuable frontier lands. Indians were threatening to reclaim land they had traded away in Georgia, which was virtually defenseless. Vermont had split away from New York and established itself as an independent state, which was, however, not recognized by the national government.

Then there was the problem of the huge debt that had piled up during the war and after. The war had been financed primarily by notes and bonds--amounting, really, to IOUs--issued both by the individual states and by the Continental Congress. Some of these notes had been bought by foreigners. Others had been given to soldiers in place of pay, and to American merchants in exchange for the pork, shoes, guns, and butter needed to fight the war. It was clear that this debt would have to be paid off if the new country was to be able to carry on trade.

But once again the states were at odds. They had issued widely varying amounts of notes and had been liquidating them through a variety of mechanisms. The situation was exceedingly confused, and nobody was able to find a satisfactory way of dealing with it.

None of these problems, foreign or domestic, was insoluble. A determined government could secure the nation's southern borders against the Spanish, negotiate treaties to reopen the West Indies trade, and pay the war debt. Unfortunately, Congress was helpless to do any of these things. The problem, basically, was that the states were proving loathe to give up their precious "sovereignty." As historian Peter Onuf points out, "The Articles of Confederation were premised on the existence of thirteen distinct political communities and effectively barred a coordinated response to national political problems."

While Congress was wrestling in growing despair with these problems, yet another one appeared. At the close of the war Americans had gone on a buying spree. Eight years of privation had left them hungering for "luxuries"--clocks, rugs, glassware, and sideboards

from Europe, and especially from England. They ordered goods recklessly, paying for them--or not paying for them--on credit.

It was a situation that could not continue, and it did not. Soon, British merchants began demanding payment, and by 1784 or thereabouts, currency began flowing out of the United States. Today, when we take paper money for granted, it is hard to realize that two hundred years ago it was a newfangled and suspect device. Ordinary Americans did their business in hard currency, most of it foreign money. Computations were generally done in British pounds and shillings (three shillings was a good day's pay for a craftsman), but also afloat in the country were Dutch guilders, French francs, and Spanish dollars. The latter, a silver coin, was one of the coins in widest use. Some states also minted coins of their own--Connecticut, for example, issued copper pennies.

In any case, the supply of hard currency was finite, and as a result of the postwar buying spree it began to disappear from the country. This meant that many people had no cash and very little chance of getting any. And so began a chain of events that was to lead to a critical episode in American history, Shays' Rebellion.

The story of the rebel farmers, frantic over loss of their farms to debt collectors in western Massachusetts, is well known. Today we tend to sympathize with the rebels, who seemed to have been caught in a bind by forces they were barely able to comprehend. But in 1787 they were seen by most people, even plain farmers like themselves, as a mob of murderous wild men. The cause of the rebels was perhaps just; but resorting to arms was hardly the answer, people felt. And in fact, the rebels quickly learned the lesson, sent representatives to Boston, and shortly gained through legislation a good deal of what they had tried to get by force.

If many ordinary people were upset by Shays' Rebellion, however, the people of wealth, who supplied much of the leadership for the country, were simply horrified by it. In particular, it seemed to them bizarre that the national government had stood helplessly by, lacking the legal authority to put the rebellion down.

To men like Madison and Washington, Shays' Rebellion was an imperative. It hung like a shadow over the old Congress, and gave both impetus and urgency to the Constitutional Convention. It was the final, irrefutable piece of evidence that something had gone badly wrong. For some time these men had known that the deficiencies of the American government must be remedied. Shays' Rebellion made it clear to them that it must be done NOW.

The Other Boston Tea Party

TAKE NOTE

Discuss the title of the play. Ask students to describe the "original" tea party, i.e., in Boston Harbor in December, 1773. Summarize briefly the historical importance of the tea protest. Emphasize tea as a symbol not only of British political and economic colonial oppression, but also, in the minds of many American revolutionaries, of social decadence. You may wish to share, for instance, the following 18th-century song which many ascribe to Sam Adams himself. Perhaps he is "The Chief" holding court at the Green Dragon.

> Rally, Mohawks! bring out your axes
> And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
> On his foreign tea;
> His threats are vain, and vain to think
> To force our girls and wives to drink
> His Vile Bokea!
> Then rally, boys; and hasten on
> To meet our chief at the Green Dragon.

Finally, explain briefly that a Tea Assembly was a fashionable social club popular among young people in the years following the Revolution. Ask students to be aware of how the characters in the play view these "other" Boston Tea Parties.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

For a Song

Have students create their own "rallying song" about the tea protest, tea assemblies, or any of the other issues or topics highlighted in the play. Like our colonial forebears, they may wish to do so by writing lyrics to currently popular tunes. Work with your school music

director to have students perform their songs at their own Tea Assembly (see page 98) or at a community showing of "The Other Boston Tea Party."

Extra! Extra! Read All About It!

As you work on this program, create a series of news articles, editorials, letters and political cartoons for the *New England Gazette* covering the political and social events of 1787-1788. Be sure to interview some of the movers and shakers on the political scene as well as provide a detailed account of the battle for ratification in your state and neighboring ones. Publish your newspaper as a special supplement to your school newspaper or local shopper. You might even use your newspaper as a handout for guests to your Tea Assembly at the conclusion of this program (see page 98).

On Board

As another ongoing project, collect newspaper and magazine clippings related to constitutional issues in contemporary America. For example, a headline on the ERA bill before Congress, a minority business opening in your community, a citizen action demonstration, an election rally, or a class action suit. Use the headlines, news clips and photos to create a class or school hallway bulletin board entitled "Politics is Every Man's--and Woman's--Business!"

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A Comedy of Manners

TAKE NOTE

So begins "The Other Boston Tea Party." The action of the play takes place on January 30, 1788, and in the winter of 1785 in Boston, Massachusetts. There are two settings: Sam and Betsey Adams' living room and Sally Foster's sitting room.

Many of those in the viewing audience may be unfamiliar with 18th-century literary style, mimicked here by the playwright, the genre of a comedy of manners, and the role of theater as political propaganda during the Enlightenment. You may wish to review Jack Carroll's essay "American Theatre in the Late 1700s" on page 29.

If your class has studied the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, you may also wish to have them compare the goals stated in the Preamble to the goal stated in the Prologue. Are they the same? Different?

Did the Constitution as written in 1787 truly promote these goals? Why or why not? Does the Constitution today? How might our Constitution be amended to better make American Reality consistent with the American Dream?

GLOSSARY

Congress: n. The legislature of the United States.
Constitution: n. Established form of government; a system of fundamental laws.
Declaration of Independence: n. The document, written by Thomas Jefferson and signed by representatives from the 13 colonies, declaring American independence from Great Britain.
edification: n. Moral or spiritual instruction.

Good evening. We are pleased to present a series of MORAL DIALOGUES, *in nine parts, depicting the character and passions of American citizens as they struggle to maintain the worthy virtues of independence and equality for all the people in the thirteen states.*

As you know, the Congress has presented a document entitled The Constitution of the United States of America to all citizens in order to seek their approval for a new form of national government.

Mr. Richard Lawrence will represent Samuel Adams, citizen of Boston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, a man once called the most dangerous man in America.

moral dialogue: n. A play which seeks to edify or to instruct morally or spiritually.

Sans Souci Club: See *Tea Assembly*. *Sans Souci* is french for "without care."

Tea Assembly: n. A social club where young people in Boston danced, played cards, listened to music and drank wine, tea and coffee.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is a *prologue*? A *moral dialogue*?

2. Which of the following was included in the Constitution presented in 1788 "to all citizens in order to seek their approval for a new form of national government"?

   a. a description of the three branches of government
   b. permission for Congress to levy taxes on state citizens
   c. the creation of political parties
   d. instructions for ratifying or agreeing to the Constitution
   e. a clause abolishing slavery
   f. voting privileges for all adults over age 21
   g. guaranteed freedom of speech and the press
   h. the phrase "All men are created equal."

3. Who are the four characters in the play? Have you ever heard of any of them before? If so, summarize what you know about each historical character.

4. From your brief glimpses of the characters in the prologue, what adjectives would you use to describe each of them?

5. Sally Foster explains that this play is about "the character and passions of American citizens." How would you describe our "character and passions" today? Would you describe Americans who lived 200 years ago in the same way? Why or why not? In what ways are we the same and/or different as a people today as opposed to in the 18th century? Explain.

Mr. Jonathan Voyce will depict Harrison Gray Otis, graduate of Harvard College, lawyer and founder of the notorious Tea Assembly, otherwise known as the "Sans Souci Club."

Mrs. Shirley Nemetz-Ress will delineate Betsey Adams, second wife to Samuel Adams, a virtuous woman in all respects whose strength of character is marked by her ability to voice her own opinions.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Collaborative Poetry

You may wish to introduce the play by having your class create a collaborative poem based on the following phrase from the opening statement of the play:

> "To maintain the worthy virtues of independence and equality for all the people."

Ask students to offer phrases, images, metaphors, and similes to describe the principles of independence and equality. What do these words mean to them as American citizens and individuals?

Write their suggestions on the chalkboard to form concentric circles or the spokes of a fireworks wheel.

After viewing the play in its entirety, you may wish to return to the class poem. Are there any new or different images your students would suggest based on what they have learned?

Dear Diary

Choose one of the 4 characters in the play. As you work on this program, create diary entries for that character on the events taking place in his or her life. Be sure to include your feelings and opinions of both the other 3 characters and the Constitution.

I am Miss Andrea Southwick. I have the privilege to portray Sally Foster, a faithful and moral friend to Mr. Otis, and a proud American as well.

Various dialogues, too numerous to mention here, will be delivered for your edification within the next hour. It is hoped that every spectator will reflect on what he has seen and heard before he retires to rest.

American Theatre in the Late 1700s

by Jack Carroll
Playwright

Show business pioneers had come to seek fame and fortune in the colonies almost as soon as the first settlements had established themselves as permanent towns and cities. The first known record of a play performed in English dates from August 1665, when William Darby, the author of *Ye Bare and Ye Cubb*, was thrown into jail in Accomac County, Virginia, following its one and only performance. Although he was released, there is no record of his attempting to write another play. Some historians have suggested that the play was a political satire pitting the "bear," or England, against the "cub," her American colonies. However, since no copy of the script exists, this intriguing hypothesis can't be proved--or disproved.

Like William Darby, the majority of the colonists were British; that was the culture they brought with them. That was the culture they wanted to entertain them. Although there are records of a few American plays performed during the next century and a quarter, the first "smash hit" did not appear until 1787, the same year that the Constitutional Convention met behind closed doors in Philadelphia. *The Contrast*, written by a Vermont lawyer named Royall Tyler, had its world premiere at New York City's John Street Theatre on April 16, 1787. This comedy of manners, which introduced a character soon to be known as the "stage Yankee," is still performed today by college and community theatre groups.

Prior to Tyler's success, plays by Americans had been frowned upon--it was much simpler for the struggling theatre companies to produce works which had England's "seal of approval," a situation not unlike that of the current musical offerings on Broadway. However, the United States had no theatrical center. There was no city with a population large enough to support even a single theatre company for an entire season. If one were to look at a map of the United States of America as it existed during the Constitutional Era, it would be easy to see how difficult it was for a theatre company to survive by touring, hopefully in good weather, from north to south and back again. They had no alternative. Today's "bus and truck" companies of Broadway hits have much the same system, often performing in three or four cities in a single week.

While many of the touring performances were held in lecture halls and meeting rooms, a number of cities had built theatres to accommodate their visitors and also to show their fellow colonies and England that they were indeed civilized. Although not every citizen approved of its business, the Hallam Company, under the leadership of William Hallam,

transformed an unused building into a theatre upon its arrival in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1752. Many historians mark the appearance of the Hallam troupe as the beginning of America's professional theatre. The Hallam company travelled from Williamsburg north to Philadelphia and New York and as far south as Charleston, the major cultural center in the South. It also made brief excursions to Richmond, Baltimore, Annapolis, and Wilmington during the years prior to the Revolution.

While southern colonies welcomed Hallam and his company, he had difficulty proving the moral value of his repertoire, which included the works of Shakespeare, Otway, Farquhar, Addison, and other "England-approved" dramatists, further north. Technically, there was no theatre in New England at all. The phrase "banned in Boston" was a legal fact accepted by Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, as well as the territories of Maine and Vermont. Since there was an audience for live theatre, in spite of the legal ban, plays were advertised as "moral lectures in five parts." Some of these "lectures" were *Othello*, *The Contrast*, and William Dunlap's *Andre*, a tragedy about the famed British spy, first performed in 1798. Even the fact that one of the play's central characters was George Washington himself was not sufficient evidence of the play's merits for many New Englanders. Ironically, it was Samuel Adams, as Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who signed the law lifting the ban on theatrical productions in 1793. His distrust of the moral value of drama was as strong as that of a much younger colleague, Harrison Gray Otis. They enjoyed using their right to freedom of speech to argue the pros and cons of the Tea Assembly, much to the delight of their readers, but they were in full agreement that the theatre was a subversive influence on young and old alike.

Of course, they were absolutely correct. Being "subversives" themselves, they both understood the power of the spoken word. Adams had stood in Faneuil Hall and urged his audiences to overthrow British tyranny and revolt against the oppression of the monarchy. Otis made himself the spokesman for a younger generation and urged them to revolt against old and irrelevant social customs. In addition to its required entertainment value, much of the world's best drama is crafted to give audiences the opportunity to confront the "status quo" and to consider alternatives. There are plays which seem to demand subversive action, Odet's *Waiting for Lefty* with its call to strike is one example, but the majority of plays ask for a quieter form of subversion. The writers ask their audiences to look under "the truth" in order to determine whether or not the apparent truth is really fact or fiction.

The Politician Outwitted, the play Sally Foster is reading while Harrison occupies himself with his study of the new Constitution, is a real play. Although the writer had enough money to have the play published, no theatre company would produce it. Much of the play is, as she says, "silly," but the real (subversive) reason no manager would touch it was because it dared to promote the new Constitution as a logical replacement for the awkward Articles of Confederation. In short, it was too "political" to be presented as an entertainment. *The Contrast*, produced only a year earlier, was not only a better comedy; it also poked fun at Americans pretending to be Englishmen and women. Tyler's play

was not considered subversive because it promoted American values. The eleven-year-old United States of America needed the opportunity to laugh at the Old World from which it had revolted. Although written as a comedy, *The Politician Outwitted* was, in fact, a very persuasive play about a very controversial subject. Like so many political plays before and after it, it was judged "unsafe," particularly at the box office.

If the American theatre of the Constitutional Era appeared oddly British in terms of its repertoire, and it did, the reason lay in the fact that the majority of Americans in the late 1700s had very recently been British themselves. In that sense, in this brand-new nation, the plays gave audiences a link to their old heritage. The British plays served as a reminder of what they had left behind. Plays like *The Contrast* helped to assure them that they had made the right choice.

I wrote *The Other Boston Tea Party* to entertain. I also had a subversive motive. If they have worked well together, then many people will read both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution in order to determine for themselves why so many people thought a change was needed and why so many others were afraid of the Constitution two centuries ago. There is no other document quite like it in the world. And it still causes controversy among the people who have agreed to live together under its laws.

FURTHER READING

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Brockett, Oscar G. *History of the Theatre, Fifth Ed.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1987.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. *A History of the American Drama: From the Beginning to the Civil War, 2nd Ed.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943.

Wilson, Garff B. *Three Hundred Years of American Drama and Theatre: From Ye Bare and Ye Cubb to Hair.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Suggestions for Further Study from Jack Carroll

1. Read and compare the *Constitution* and the *Articles of Confederation.*

2. Read and discuss *The Contrast.* (It's available in an anthology, *Representative American Plays*, edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn.) It's quite funny, and it is a good example of the "comedy of manners" so popular 200 years ago. With the inclusion of Jonathan, the prototype of the "stage Yankee," Tyler's play reveals a great deal about how Americans felt about themselves during the nation's "adolescence."

3. *The Politician Outwitted* is a different story. To my knowledge, the play, although often mentioned in American Theatre History books, exists only in its original book format. I'm not sure how many copies remain. I came upon it by chance when I was researching *The Other Boston Tea Party* at Brown University's Whitney Library. As you have no doubt already guessed, the book can't be checked out! It probably can't even be xeroxed because it's so fragile.

4. Harrison's aunt, Mercy Otis Warren, wrote plays during this era. They were, of course, never produced professionally. This had more to do with the fact that they were written by an American than the fact that they were written by a woman. English women had had plays produced since the Restoration, a century and a half earlier. I have not read any of her plays. However, she might be an interesting person for a research paper, particularly since Harrison truly believed that the theatre was immoral.

5. Another of Harrison's relatives, his uncle, James Otis, is also an interesting character. He was a close friend of Samuel Adams and a strong believer in the Revolution. (I did not refer to him in my play because he died in 1783 after being struck by lightning!)

6. The movement advocating the addition of the Bill of Rights to the *Constitution* is generally attributed to three men: Samuel Adams, Charles Calhoun of South Carolina, and Patrick Henry of Virginia. Their friendship and common beliefs could be explored in a research paper.

7. My final suggestion is a look into the future: what happened to Sam and Betsey Adams and Harrison and Sally Otis after the *Constitution* became the law of the land?

In which Sam and Betsey Adams plan to discuss the proposed new Constitution over tea on the afternoon of January 30, 1785.

Afternoon, January 30, 1785.

BETSEY: *Have you read it, Samuel?*

SAM: *I have.*

BETSEY: *Well, speak up, man.*

SAM: *Would you prefer that I gave you my unconsidered opinion, Betsey? Then my detractors could satisfy themselves that I am as quick-tempered at home as they make me appear to be in public.*

BETSEY: *They have come to you for advice.*

SAM: *Have they? If it's advice they wanted, I should have been asked to attend those meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern. I am not a stranger to the place. All they want is the Adams' seal of approval.*

BETSEY: *Then perhaps you should be honored that your opinion matters after all these years.*

SAM: *Betsey, would you make your husband so old and decrepit? "All these years," indeed.*

BETSEY: *I would make you exactly what you are: three score and six and retired from public service. Do not play the doddering fool with me, Samuel. I won't have it. Let Mr. Hancock develop his "convenient" illnesses so that he can determine*

TAKE NOTE

In discussing this scene, recall two famous players on the American Revolutionary stage, mentioned during Samuel and Betsey's conversation--John Hancock and Paul Revere. Although they never appear, they will be mentioned again in later scenes.

GLOSSARY

decrepit: adj. Broken down with age; worn out.
government: n. The established form of political organization for a society.
incendiary: adj. Tending to incite or inflame; seditious.
score: n. A group of twenty, represented by a notch on a tally; hence, a large number.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Based on this scene, what adjectives or phrases would you use to describe Samuel Adams? Betsey Adams? Their relationship?

2. Contrast Samuel's opinion of John Hancock and Paul Revere.

3. Betsey Adams says that she has not only read a copy of the new Constitution, but also has made marginal notes. Do you think this is an accurate historical portrayal? Would the average 18th-century woman have read the Constitution, taken written notes, and discussed it with her husband? Explain.

which way the wind blows before he voices his opinion.

SAM: *Which is it this time?*

BETSEY: *Gout.*

SAM: *Again? My dear, no human could survive the number of attacks he has suffered over the years.*

BETSEY: *I marvel at his speedy recoveries even more. Always in time for a public appearance . . .*

. . . .

BETSEY: *I'll bring the tea. We have no cakes, I'm afraid.*

SAM: *(smiles) Then we shall make do without them. As usual. Unless, of course, Mr. Otis is stopping by.*

BETSEY: *Mr. Otis? Whatever made you think of him?*

SAM: *He got cakes. And an earful of opinion, too.*

BETSEY: *The Tea Assembly! All those children pretending to act like their elders. How long ago was that?*

SAM: *Almost three years now.*

BETSEY: *No!*

SAM: *I remember it. I was a"boy" of three score and three . . .*

In which Harrison Otis introduces his Tea Assembly.

OTIS: January 1, 1785. I propose the following rules for our Tea Assembly: Gentlemen of nineteen, and ladies of fifteen years of age, are admitted. The rooms of the Concert Hall shall be opened at 6 o'clock and card tables provided for eighty gentlemen and ladies.

TAKE NOTE

If the idea of a private tea assembly struck a republican nerve as being too elitist, the name itself, *Sans Souci*, reinforced the un-republican nature of the gatherings. The words themselves, meaning "without care," would indicate, in the mind of so vigorous a whig as Samuel Adams, a serious reduction of the vigilance necessary for the safeguarding of a fragile republic.

The phrase *sans souci* was also the expression of certain Enlightenment concepts of human progress. The enlightened despot, Frederick the Great of Prussia, named one of his palaces *Sans Souci*. Such Enlightenment connections might have been viewed skeptically in Calvinist Boston.

Music, dancing, tea, coffee, cards, and wine make up the entertainment. Therefore, eat, drink and be merry. Every man has the right to procure amusements agreeable to himself, and to his female acquaintances. Happy New Year to one and all!

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Define *Tea Assembly*. Is there any organization, club or group in contemporary America that fulfills the same function today? Explain.

2. Many 18th-century adults viewed Tea Assemblies as decadent and too permissive. "Gentlemen of 19 and ladies of 15" were allowed to listen to music, dance, play cards, and drink coffee, tea and wine. Would this be legal in your state today? Do you think our society is more or less permissive than 18th-century Boston society? Justify your opinion.

3. Our Constitution establishes a system of self-government, in which citizens govern themselves rather than are governed by a monarch or dictator. Does our system of self-government, in your opinion, imply that each citizen is responsible for his or her own "*self*-government"; for example, by obeying laws, participating in community life, acting responsibly towards others, etc.? Explain.

4. What is your impression of Harrison Otis? Pretend you are the playwright. Write a note to the casting director in which you describe Harrison and what you're looking for in an actor to play this part.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Sit-Com

"The Other Boston Tea Party" is a comedy of manners, the 18th-century equivalent of a contemporary "sit com." Work with fellow classmates to write a script for a contemporary sit com which focuses on one or more of the themes or conflicts in "The Other Boston Tea Party," for example, the push and pull between different generations or striving for equality between men and women in our society.

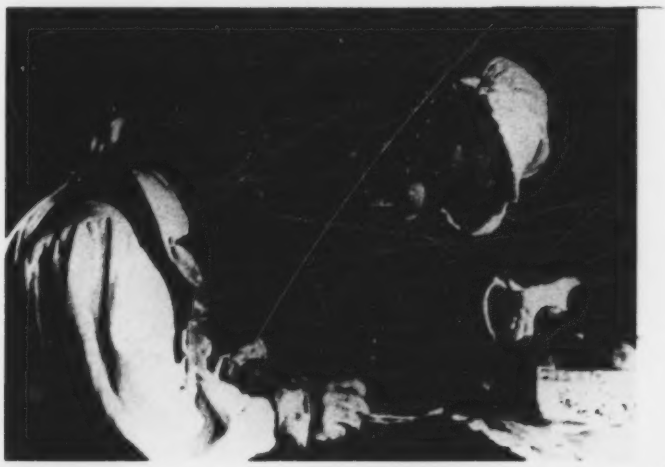
Ask your drama or literature teacher to critique your play. Then work with students to produce it for a class open house or school assembly.

FURTHER READING

Warren, Charles. "Samuel Adams and the Sans Souci Club in 1785." Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, 60 (1927), 318-344.

Wood, Gordon, ed. *The Rising Glory of America, 1760-1820*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1971. The newspaper correspondence over the "problem of luxury" is recounted here.

In which Samuel Adams offers his view of Tea Assemblies as being gambling clubs for wealthy children and a symptom of a growing lack of private and social morality, which is, in his opinion, already having an injurious effect on the Free Republic.



TAKE NOTE

In discussing Question 2 with your class, you may wish to share information about the economic, social and political inequalities in 18th-century America. These would include varying degrees of religious freedom in the states (for example, in New Hampshire in 1788 you could not hold political office or teach school unless you were a Protestant), economic freedom (indentured servants, slavery) and political freedom (limited suffrage). Be sure to note that freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and equal treatment under the law were *not* part of the Constitution as written in 1787. You

SAM: (reads) The stage, which is not permitted among us, might under proper regulations be a school of morality. But the Tea Assembly is contaminated by idle pleasures and foolish gratifications. Why suffer all the intemperances of Great Britain? Let not your names which would otherwise be handed as virtuous, brave and good, to ages yet unborn, be thus shaded with infamy. It is therefore to be hoped the citizens of a free republic will unanimously exert themselves to give a check to so injurious an institution. (looks at Betsey) Well, what do you think?

BETSEY: *I think the young folk of Boston will laugh at you, Samuel.*

SAM: *Is that all? I was hoping my letter to the "Centinel" might cause them to throw stones at our windows.*

BETSEY: *Why must you provoke them so?*

SAM: *Because they have provoked me! "Sans Souci Club," indeed. It is no more than a gambling club for children--wealthy children. Would you prefer that I sit quietly and not protest?*

BETSEY: *It seems like such a small thing.*

SAM: *Aye. Like the first rat bite in a plague.*

BETSEY: *Samuel!*

may also wish to share some points from the essay, "All Men Are Created Equal" by Paul Finkelman which begins on page 41.

GLOSSARY

aristocracy: n. Those regarded as superior to the rest of the community, in rank, wealth, and/or intellect.
coquette: n. (French) a flirt.
infamy: n. Public disgrace, dishonor or reproach.
intemperance: n. Immoderate indulgence of appetites; habitual or excessive indulgence in intoxicants.
mechanic: n. One who practices any mechanic art; an artisan.
morality: n. Ideals or principles of human conduct considered proper or right by the majority of the society.
sycophant: n. A false accuser; a flatterer.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In this scene Betsey Adams says that "this Tea Assembly is of no consequence." Samuel, however, likens it to "the first rat bite in a plague." Do you agree with Sam or Betsey? Explain.

2. Samuel Adams states that "The United States of America harbors no aristocracy." Was there equality of opportunity for all Americans in the 18th century? Is there today? Give concrete examples to justify your opinions.

3. In 1987 as part of the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution, representatives from the original 13 states met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, where the Constitution had been drafted 200 years earlier. Delegates suggested that certain amendments be made to the Constitution. One amendment would guarantee a job to every adult American in an effort to achieve economic equity. Would you support such an amendment? Why or why not? What article of the Constitution gives citizens the power to amend the document? Describe the amendment process. Is it the same for your state constitution? Explain.

SAM: *I will not argue with you, Betsey. Young people should have better occupations than dancing and card-playing.*

BETSEY: *But it is only every other week.*

SAM: *And by spring it will be weekly. And thrice during the summer.*

BETSEY: *Preposterous.*

SAM: *Then prove me wrong!*

BETSEY: *Wrong-headed, perhaps. This Tea Assembly is of no consequence. By attacking it in the press, you will turn it into a monster.*

SAM: *Then I shall have achieved my goal. And Mr. Harrison Gray Otis and his cronies shall have been found out. This is not England. The United States of America harbors no aristocracy.*

BETSEY: *I'm sure Mr. Otis has no intention of calling himself an aristocrat.*

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

As the Wheel Turns

Consider the following case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court exactly 200 years after the Constitutional Convention convened in Philadelphia. Work alone or in small groups to use the case study method to analyze the case. You may then wish to have teams present oral arguments before a 9-person student Supreme Court. The student justices should then issue their opinion. If it is not unanimous, have dissenting justices explain their point of view.

Afterwards compare your opinions with that of the U.S. Supreme Court. How are they similar or dissimilar? Did the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court make any arguments that might sway the point of view of the student justices? If so, which arguments, and why? To conclude the activity, have a "court reporter" write a description of the case study and its outcome. You may wish to send it along to your local Rotary Club and/or publish it in your school or community newspaper.

Case Study Procedure

1. *Find the Facts.* List the facts of the story. Don't make up any information that is not given. Ask yourself which are the most important facts? Are there any important facts left out of the story?

2. *Identify the Issue.* What rights are in conflict in this problem? What questions or issues does this case ask the court to answer? State the question or questions the case raises in one sentence.

3. *Arguments.* Make up an argument for each side of the problem.

4. *Decision and Reasons.* Make your decision and give the reasons which back up your decision. If you are working in a group, discuss your decision and reasoning with other group members and listen to their thoughts.

Adapted from Reikes/Ackerly, *Lawmaking*, West Publishing Co., 1983

SAM: *Twenty years old and he dares to sponsor a club where unescorted young ladies are permitted to dance. And God knows what else. I am not against rational amusements, but I refuse to see the females of Boston turned into coquettes. Let Mr. Otis open the doors of his Tea Assembly to the mechanic and the tradesman, and then I shall cease to accuse him of being a sycophant.*

BETSEY: *You know that will never be.*

SAM: *Then I will never stop.*

Facts

Rotary International is a non-profit service corporation composed of local Rotary Clubs. Individuals are admitted to local club membership according to a "classification system" based on business, professional and institutional activity in their community. Although women are permitted to attend meetings, give speeches, receive awards and form auxiliary organizations, the Rotary constitution excludes women from membership.

Because a club in Duarte, California, admitted women as full members, the local club's affiliation with the international Rotary organization was terminated. The local club filed suit, saying that Rotary International had violated a California state law which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. The state trial court ruled against the local club. The case was appealed and the trial court opinion reversed. The case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

A First Amendment Argument

Rotary International claimed that under the First Amendment individuals have the right to express themselves by association. The organization claimed that the California state law limited the right of individuals to freely associate with whomever they wished. It was argued that if men wanted to be just with men, they had a right to do so. Therefore, the state law violated the First Amendment and was thus unconstitutional.

Attorneys for the Duarte Rotary Club argued that by admitting women the club was still able to function as a service organization. Even if in some small way the California law did infringe on a member's right of free association, the State had a "compelling interest" (a more important duty) to eliminate discrimination against women and to assure women "equal access" or opportunity to get involved in local community affairs and to make business contacts.

You Be the Judge

How would you rule in this case? Use the case study method to help you come to a fair decision based on the Constitution.

All Men Are Created Equal

by Prof. Paul Finkelman
Department of History
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In the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Since 1776 Americans have been troubled by those words, and what they actually meant. The man who wrote the words made them even more problematic. In 1776, Thomas Jefferson owned over 150 slaves. At his death fifty years later, Jefferson owned approximately 225 slaves. However much he may have believed the words he wrote, Jefferson never applied them to his own slaves. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Jefferson and slavery is the discrepancy between his articulation of self-evident truths and his inability to do anything to end slavery in Virginia, or even to end his own personal relationship to slavery. Except for a few favored house "servants" whom he freed in his will, Jefferson never emancipated any of his slaves.

It probably should not surprise us that Jefferson, and most of the other Southerners of the age, did little to end slavery, even as they fought for their own liberty, and then tried to preserve that liberty with a Constitution. By the 1770s slavery and racial discrimination were well entrenched in America's economic, social, and legal structure. In 1776 slavery was legal in all thirteen Revolutionary states. Nearly half the signers of the Declaration owned slaves. This leads to some troublesome conclusions about the founding of this nation. With regards to slavery and race, what were the intentions of Jefferson and the others who wrote and signed the Declaration?

Some members of the Revolutionary leadership clearly opposed slavery. Benjamin Franklin, who had a hand in drafting the Declaration, would later become president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Benjamin Rush, also a signer, succeeded Franklin as president of that Society. Other signers, like Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, certainly disliked slavery. John Adams, who helped draft the Declaration, later placed language almost identical to that of the Declaration in the Massachusetts Constitution for the express purpose of ending slavery in the Bay State. The subsequent ending of slavery in other northern states demonstrates that many in the generation of 1776 took the words of the Declaration at face value. Thus we can infer that some of the signers in 1776 "intended" the Declaration to include blacks as well as whites.

But, many who signed the Declaration frankly and openly supported slavery. Congressmen from South Carolina successfully opposed a clause in the Declaration attacking the African slave trade, both because they hoped to reopen the trade after the Revolution and because they refused to sign a document which condemned slavery, even indirectly.

This analysis does not preclude the application of the words and ideas--the principles--of the Declaration to *all* people. But it does reveal that the meaning of the words today may be different from the way the signers of the Declaration used them. This analysis also sheds some light on who was entitled to the "blessings of liberty" that the Constitution was written to protect. That light, however, is not necessarily one that Americans can comfortably bask in. Essentially, this analysis shows that the primary author of the Declaration, as well as many of those who signed it, did not intend to share with African-Americans the "blessings of liberty" that the Constitution was designed to preserve.

Slavery and the Constitution

Slavery was the focus of numerous debates at the Convention. Although the words "slave" and "slavery" do not appear in the Constitution, five clauses of the Constitution specifically dealt with slavery[1] while six others were written with slavery in mind.[2] Numerous other clauses were affected by slavery.[3] The word slavery itself was excised from the Constitution near the end of the Convention because delegates from Connecticut felt the presence of the word might hurt chances for ratification. The Framers replaced this offensive word with such euphemisms as "other persons" and "persons owing service or labour." The intentions of the Framers were clearly to protect slavery in numerous ways but to hide the evidence of that protection.

From the start the Southern delegations were adamant that they would not accept the Constitution without accommodating slavery in four ways: counting slaves for representation; counting slaves in some capacity in the election of the president; prohibiting export taxes; and gaining some federal protection in the case of a slave revolt.

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[1]The clauses are: Art. I, Sec. 2, Par 3 (three-fifths clause); Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 1 (slave trade clause); Art. I, Sec. 9, Par 4 (capitation tax clause); Art. IV, Sec. 2, Par 3 (fugitive slave clause); and Art. V (prohibiting Amendments of the two slavery-related provisions in Art. I, Sec. 9, before 1808).

[2]They are: Art. I, Sec. 8, Par. 15 (militia may be used to suppress insurrections, including slave insurrections); Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 5 (prohibition on federal export taxes); Art. I, Sec. 10, Par. 2 (prohibition on state export taxes); Art. II, Sec. 1, Par. 3 (creation of electoral college based in part on the three-fifths clause); Art. IV, Sec. 4 (protection against domestic violence, including slave violence.)

[3]They include Art. I, Sec. 8, Par. 2 (commerce clause); Art. III, Sec. 2, Par. 1 (diversity jurisdiction); Art. IV, Sec. 1 (full faith and credit provision); Art. IV, Sec. 2, Par. 1 (privileges and immunities clause); Art. IV, Sec. 2, Par. 2 (fugitives from justice clause); Art. IV, Sec. 3, Par. 2 (territorial government clause).

With the exception of the Virginia delegation, the Southerners also demanded the clause which prohibited Congress from ending the slave trade until 1808. Late in the Convention the slave-holding delegates united in making one more specific demand; a provision allowing masters to recover fugitive slaves.

In addition to these specific demands, the Southern delegates had a general demand: that the new government be limited in its powers so that it could never threaten slavery. As South Carolina's Pierce Butler declared: "The security the South[er]n States want is that their negroes may not be taken from them. . . ."

The intentions of the Southern delegates were to preserve and protect slavery. The Southerners were quite candid about their intentions of maintaining and perpetuating slavery. Nor did the North enter blindly into a compact with committed slave owners. Thus, during the slave trade debate General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina declared that a prohibition of the slave trade would be "an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union" because "South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves." He bluntly predicted that South Carolina would not "stop her importations of slaves in any short time." Pinckney, an important framer, clearly intended the Constitution to protect his right to hold slaves forever, as well as his right to import slaves, *at least* until 1808.

The Southerners who vociferously argued for clauses that would protect slavery were ultimately quite successful. As General Pinckney told the South Carolina legislature: "We have a security that the general government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted; and it is admitted, on all hands, that the general government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several states." The finished Constitution counted slaves--designated "other persons" in the document--for purposes of allocating representation. The number of slaves a state had also affected presidential elections through the electoral college. Congress was forbidden from taxing exports or ending the slave trade before 1808. Under the new Constitution, masters were allowed to recover fugitive slaves from other states. As Southern supporters of the Constitution pointed out in the ratification debates, this was a right they had not previously had under the Articles of Confederation. Finally, the Constitution guaranteed federal intervention to subdue insurrections, including slave revolts. It is little wonder that General Pinckney bragged: "In short, considering all circumstances, we have made the best terms for the security of this species of property it was in our power to make. We would have made better if we could but on the whole I do not think them bad."

Not all the framers liked these results. The delegations from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey opposed the continuation of the slave trade. Governor Morris of Pennsylvania declared that slavery was "a nefarious institution" and "the curse of heaven."

By 1787, slavery had been abolished or was being phased out in much of the North. In Massachusetts the words "All men are born free and equal" were at the beginning of the 1780 constitution. By 1781, courts had interpreted that clause to have ended all slavery in the state. The primary author of the 1780 constitution was John Adams, who was less radical on this subject than his cousin Samuel. That same year Pennsylvania adopted a gradual emancipation law, which freed all the children of slaves born in the state, thus guaranteeing that slavery in the Quaker state would literally die out. In 1784, Connecticut and Rhode Island followed Pennsylvania's lead with their own gradual emancipation statutes. Free blacks could vote in those states, as well as in New York and New Jersey. In those states free blacks were citizens with most of the rights of other citizens. The change in the status of blacks in the North was one of the most profound effects of the Revolution. It indicated the institutionalization in a large part of the nation of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, although not perhaps the intentions of its author. This situation suggests that most of the North did not want a perpetual union with slave owners, even though by adopting the constitution, that is in fact what was created.

Many of the Northern framers were less concerned with slavery. At the convention Connecticut's Oliver Ellsworth refused to debate the "morality or wisdom" of slavery, because he believed that "what enriches a part enriches the whole." His Connecticut colleague, Roger Sherman, did not deny that slavery was wrong, but he said that concessions on the subject were necessary because "it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the new Constitution." The New England delegations thus supported the interest of slavery in return for support from South Carolina for the commerce clause.

The Northern framers may not have liked the concessions they agreed to, but in accepting them, they accepted a Union in which slavery would play an important role. The Northern framers must have known that the three-fifths clause would give the South substantial political power. In this sense, they clearly intended to give the South votes in Congress and in choosing the President based on slaves. On this question the Northern and Southern framers were probably in agreement as to what they intended.

The intentions of the parties for the Fugitive Slave Clause are less clear. This provision was barely debated, and from the discussion it is impossible to tell how anyone expected the clause to operate. If there was any agreement over what was intended, it was simply that Southerners believed they had obtained a right to capture runaway slaves in the North, and Northerners had apparently agreed to let them do so.

The intentions of those who voted for the slave trade provision were both more certain and more ambiguous. The slave trade provision of Article I, Section 9, did not require or guarantee an end to the African trade in 1808. The clause prevented a Congressional prohibition of the trade before 1808. This leads to two different interpretations of the intentions of those who adopted this clause.

The strongest supporters of the trade, from South Carolina and Georgia, wanted to protect the African slave trade for *at least* twenty years, with the likely possibility of keeping the trade going indefinitely. These avidly pro-slavery politicians did not intend the clause to lead to an end to the trade in 1808. Rather, they saw the clause as postponing an end to the trade until they would have the political power to protect it. This analysis was based on the fact that in 1787 most Americans believed, wrongly as it turned out, that the flow of population was towards the South and the Southwest. The supporters of the slave trade clause expected that by 1808 they and their deep South allies would have enough votes in Congress to prevent a ban on the trade. Thus, in urging ratification of the Constitution, General Pinckney declared, "By this settlement we have secured an unlimited importation of negroes for twenty years; nor is it declared that the importation shall be then stopped; it may be continued. . . ."

On the other hand, opponents of the trade claimed the Constitution would guarantee an end to that form of commerce after 1808. In the *Federalist Papers*, James Madison asserted: "It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy."

The slave trade provision reveals the ambiguity of the intentions of the framers. Most Northern delegates (except those from Connecticut) intended to guarantee the end of the African trade in twenty years. The South Carolinians intended to guarantee their right to import slaves until they had the political power to protect the trade in Congress. Delegates from both groups intended radically different results. Fortunately, in this instance the supporters of slavery miscalculated.

Slavery and Ratification

The question of slavery was crucial during the ratification struggle. Southern Federalists, like the Pinckneys of South Carolina, bragged about their successes. In Virginia, Madison pointed to the fugitive slave clause as a reason for ratification. Northern Federalists, on the other hand, tried to ignore the slavery issue as much as possible. When forced to discuss it, they often misstated what the Constitution actually provided. Thus, at the Pennsylvania ratification convention, James Wilson said he considered the slave trade clause "as laying the foundation for the banishment of slavery out of this country. . . ." This was either one of the worst cases of wishful thinking during the period, or it was a conscious effort to mislead Northerners.

Northern Anti-Federalists were not misled; nor were they impressed by the slavery provisions of the Constitution. They saw the Constitution exactly as the Pinckneys did: as a pro-slavery compact, what the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison would label "a Covenant With Death and an Agreement in Hell."

In New York, an Anti-Federalist from Dutchess County declared that Americans might become "a happy and respectible people" if the states were forced into "relinquishing

every idea of drenching the bowels of Africa in gore, for the sake of enslaving its free-born innocent inhabitants." In the New Hampshire ratifying convention, Joshua Atherton declared that by adopting the Constitution "we become *consenters to*, and *partakers in*, the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic." He would have no part of "this cruel and inhuman" trade which was "the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity." In Massachusetts, an Anti-Federalist asked, "Can we then hold up our hands for a Constitution that licenses this blood practice? Can we who have fought so hard for Liberty give our consent to have it taken away from others?" Three other Massachusetts Anti-Federalists complained that under the Constitution their state would be required to come to the rescue of the South, in case of a slave rebellion. This they did not want to do.

More importantly, they recognized that a compromise with slavery was dangerous to the soul of the nation and to its future. They argued "this lust for slavery" was "portentous of much evil in America, for the cry of innocent blood . . . hath undoubtedly reached the Heavens, to which that cry is always directed, and will draw down upon them vengeance adequate to the enormity of the crime."

Their fears may seem fantastic, exaggerated and overblown. But, the slaughter at Shiloh, Antietam, Gettysburg, and a thousand other battle sites between 1861 and 1865 shows that these Anti-Federalists had a far better understanding of the nature of the Constitution than the Northern Federalists, like Connecticut's Oliver Ellsworth, who had argued at the convention that "what enriches a part enriches the whole." Where slavery was concerned, what weakened a part of the nation, weakened the whole. It would take four horribly bloody years of civil war to begin to set the nation on the course of implementing the idea that all people "are created equal."

FURTHER READING

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1971.

Finkelman, Paul. "Slavery and the Constitution: Making a Covenant with Death." In Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter, eds., *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity.* Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1987.

Freehling, William W. "The Founding Fathers and Slavery." *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972), 81-93.

Jordan, Winthrop. *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1968.

Lynd, Staughton. "The Abolitionist Critique of the Constitution." In Staughton Lynd, *Class Conflict, Slavery and the United States Constitution: Ten Essays*. Indianapolis, IN, 1967.

Wiecek, William M. *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760-1848*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Pres, 1977.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North*. Chicago, 1967.

In which Harrison and Sally discuss their views of Tea Assemblies and changing times since the Revolution.

TAKE NOTE

The Palace of St. James in London was formerly one of the principle residences of the British monarchs where foreign diplomats were received by the Crown, Although the official London residence of the British monarch is now Buckingham Palace, and foreign emissaries are greeted there, they are still accredited to the Court of St. James.

OTIS: *Sally, tell me if this is not a proper reply to old Sam Adams: You have been pleased, Sir, to set yourself up as Censor of the age, and in that capacity, have attacked, with more zeal than prudence, an amusement lately instituted, in order to pass away a few of the gloomy evenings of winter. The voice of the "Observer" already rattles through the china of the Tea Assembly. He concludes the metropolis of Boston to be arrived at the last stage of vice and dissipation. In this case one would think it behooved him peaceably to yield to the tide, lest he should at length be carried away by the torrent.*

SALLY: *Harrison, you go too far.*

OTIS: *Not far enough for the old goat! (reads) If the manners of his fellow-citizens are too corrupt, they will not hesitate to raise a subscription to support their virtuous Censor in a voluntary exile . . . That's as far as I've got in an hour.*

SALLY: *It is an hour wasted. Tear it up. Burn the paper.*

OTIS: *Why? I am having a lovely time responding to the ancient crank.*

SALLY: *Harrison, this "crank" is Samuel Adams. Do you really believe any newspaper will publish a letter such as yours?*

OTIS: *Of course! Controversy is good for profits!*

GLOSSARY

behoove: v. To be necessary for; to be proper for.
censor: n. One who acts as an overseer of morals and conduct; one who edits or limits what can be said or written.
depravity: n. State of being corrupt.
dissipation: n. State of being intemperate; unable to function.
fop: n. A conceited pretender; a dandy.
prudence: n. Ability to discipline oneself through the exercise of reason.
self-righteous: adj. Self-important; censorious of others' manners and morals.
zeal: n. Enthusiasm; fervor.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In scene 4, Sally and Otis discuss Tea Assemblies in a conversation which parallels the discussion between Sam and Betsey in scene 2. Compare and contrast the two discussions, not only in terms of the topic, but also of characterization. In what ways are the two male characters the same or different? The female characters? The relationships of each couple? In your opinion, do these similarities reflect generational changes in American society between those who were active adults in the Revolutionary years and those who were not? What do these similarities and differences tell you about the role of men and women in 18th-century America?

2. Otis accuses Adams of "turning an innocent amusement [tea assemblies] into a symbol of depravity." Is that what Adams was doing? Do you think that members of the older generation do that today? Explain.

3. Otis accuses Adams of "seeing the ghosts of Redcoats behind every door." What does he mean? Is his criticism justified? Explain.

4. Sam Adams grew up at a time when most people identified themselves as (1) a subject of the British Crown, (2) a citizen of a

SALLY: And what shall be your profit? A last laugh at one of Boston's leaders?

OTIS: He is libelling our Tea Assembly, Sally. Turning an innocent amusement into a symbol of depravity. According to him, we are no better than the men who ruined Greece or Rome.

SALLY: It seems the greatest fear is that you may attempt the manners of the Court of St. James.

OTIS: Be sensible. I am no fop idling away my time. Have I not found gainful employment? Why should he care how I choose to spend my own time and money?

SALLY: So, my dear Harry, you have been hurt by his comments, after all.

OTIS: I am tired of these grand old men of the Revolution forever reminding us that we must protect our country from the evil ways of England. If he wishes to see the ghosts of Redcoats behind every door, let him do it privately. The war is ended. I have no more ties to England than he. I am an American.

SALLY: And a Harvard man, too, just like Mr. Adams.

OTIS: What?

SALLY: Oh, Harry! Your face! It's so flushed with the color of self-righteousness!

OTIS: I am not flushed!

particular colony and later state. Otis describes himself instead as "an American." How might these different self-images color each character's views of the Articles of Confederation and proposed U.S. Constitution? Explain.

5. Otis asks, "Why should [Adams] care how I choose to spend my own time and money?" Should Adams care? Why or why not? Should your neighbors care about what you do with your time and money? Explain.

6. Define the term *generation gap*. How would you use such a term to describe the relationship between Otis and Adams? Do you think there is a generation gap today? If so, in what ways?

7. Compare the settings in scene 3 and 4; i.e., the Adams' living room and the Fosters' sitting room respectively. Which home is more lavish? In what ways? What differences in "station" can also be deduced from the clothing worn by each of the characters? What do these comparisons in lifestyle tell you about 18th-century America after the Revolution? Do you think that the economic standing of the characters in any way influences or reflects their political views and social opinions? Explain.

FURTHER READING

Generational Conflict

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. "The Founding Fathers: Young Men of the Revolution." *Political Science Quarterly*, 74 (1971), 181-216.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750-1800*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982.

Kammen, Michael. *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978. Not so much on conflict *per se*, but on shifting perspectives from one generation to the next.

Maier, Pauline. *The Old Revolutionaries: Political Lives in the Age of Samuel Adams*. New York: Knopf, 1980. See especially chapter 6: "On Faith and Generations in Revolutionary Politics."

Shaw, Peter. *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Letters to the Editor

> *The Tea Assembly is contaminated by idle pleasures and foolish gratifications. Why suffer all the intemperances of Great Britain? Let not your names which would otherwise be handed as virtuous, brave and good, to ages yet unborn, be thus shaded with infamy. It is therefore to be hoped the citizens of a free republic will unanimously exert themselves to give a check to so injurious an institution.*
>
> Samuel Adams, scene 3
>
> *You have been pleased, Sir, to set yourself up as Censor of the Age, and in that capacity, have attacked with more zeal than prudence, an amusement lately instituted, in order to pass away a few of the gloomy evenings of winter . . . If the manners of his fellow citizens are too corrupt, they will not hesitate to raise a subscription to support their virtuous Censor in a voluntary exile . . .*
>
> Harrison Otis, scene 4

The male protagonists in the play are avid contributors to the "Letters to the Editor" page of their local newspapers. Summarize each of their arguments concerning the Tea Assembly and what it indicates about life in 18th-century America and the health of the Republic. Then write your own "Letter to the Editor," in which you describe your views on public morality today and the need, if any, to encourage values in American society. How would such a goal be accomplished? Through required school prayer, daily recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in school, mandatory public service, etc.?

I Want My MTV

In "The Other Boston Tea Party," Harrison accuses Sam of trying to be a "virtuous Censor."

In 1987, Tipper Gore, wife of Sen. Albert Gore, a Democratic presidential candidate, formed an organization whose members hoped to combat alleged violence, sexism and obscenity in television through the rating of music videos, much in the way films are currently rated PG, R, etc. Congressional hearings were held on the proposal.

Simulate your own congressional hearing on this subject. Some students should play Congressional representatives who will ask questions of those who testify. Other students should speak for or against the proposed bill. Roles should include parents, young TV viewers, manufacturers who advertise on music video channels, rock performers and agents, representatives of the TV and music industries, etc.

How would each person or group view the proposed rating system and why? Be sure to address not only possible financial considerations, but more importantly, the issue of censorship and freedom of expression as guaranteed in the 1st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Consider also whether or not a voluntary, as opposed to mandatory, rating system would make a difference in whether or not such a law should be passed? Would it make a difference if the videos were shown on regular networks versus cable pay TV? Would such a rating law lead to censorship? Would such a law be Constitutional?

Afterwards debrief the activity by holding a class roll call vote for or against the proposed rating system. Be sure to justify why you voted the way you did. Publish a description of the activity and the way your class voted in your local or school newspaper. Be sure to send the results to your Congressional representative as well.

In which Sam and Betsey Adams discuss the spirit of faction and the differing generational views of those who fought in the Revolution versus those for whom the War of Independence is a childhood memory.

BETSEY: *(reads) I am sorry your eagerness for the welfare of our countrymen has led you into such an error. I was happy to receive such lessons as came from your pen, while you kept yourself within the bounds of advice. . . . Must I read more?*

SAM: *Please continue, Betsey.*

BETSEY: *(reads) But you have encouraged the spirit of faction once more to rage among us. If you wish to separate commerce from luxury you expect an impossibility . . .*

SAM: *Commerce and luxury, is it? Since when did the practical and the trivial become partners? Read on, please.*

BETSEY: *Samuel, my eyes grow tired.*

SAM: *Then you must rest, my dear.*

BETSEY: *And you?*

SAM: *"The spirit of faction," he writes. Conceited twit! What would he know of faction? The War of Independence is nothing but a childhood memory to him. Had he been in Philadelphia when we hammered out our Articles of Confederation, then he might have learned the meaning of faction.*

BETSEY: *I am told he is a good lawyer. And an eloquent speaker.*

TAKE NOTE

You may wish to point out that in fact Sam Adams was not a drafter of the Articles of Confederation as stated in scene five. However, he was actively involved in the debate over their ratification--a debate that lasted from November of 1777 until March of 1781.

GLOSSARY

Articles of Confederation: n. The document written to form the first government for the 13 states.
conceited: adj. Entertaining a flattering opinion of oneself.
faction: n. A party, combination, or clique within a state.
War of Independence: n. The American Revolution.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Summarize the arguments made by Otis and Adams in their newspaper "duel of words." With whom do you agree and why?

2. In fact, an important part of the debate over the Constitution took place on the pages of American newspapers. Why is a free press, with the liberty to print opposing points of view and to criticize the government, so important for maintaining a democratic republic? Where in the U.S. Constitution as written in 1788 (see Appendix) is liberty of the press protected? In your state Constitution?

3. What is meant by the term "spirit of faction?" What factions existed in 18th-century America? What factions exist today? Do you think "the spirit of faction" is harmful or healthy in a democratic republic? Explain.

SAM: *I have no doubt of that. I oppose his point of view, but I am able to understand him clearly.*

BETSEY: *At least you have that gift in common.*

SAM: *The gift of words. But where is the gift of feeling? . . . .*

BETSEY: *Samuel, he is hardly past being a boy. Why must you expect so much of him?*

SAM: *I ask no more of him than I would of myself.*

BETSEY: *Then you are a hard taskmaster indeed.*

SAM: *He is an upstart pup. (smiles) And I enjoy the company of upstarts.*

BETSEY: *Then why not stop this duel of words in the newspapers? Invite him to dine with you at the Green Dragon.*

SAM: *No. The place belongs to a new generation now. No, I shall ask him to come here.*

BETSEY: *A dinner party?*

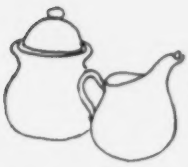
SAM: *I think afternoon tea will be sufficient. He can find luxury elsewhere easily enough. Besides, you and I may discover that we have no cause for liking him whatsoever. If he cannot speak of politics as well as he writes of his Tea Assembly, we shall be forced to discuss the weather. And that, my dear, is worth no more than a single cup.*

4. Give examples from the first 5 scenes of the "generation gap" between those who fought in the Revolution and those who did not.

5. What does Samuel Adams mean by "the gift of feeling"?

6. Adams believed that it was the duty of every citizen to "[work] to improve our country." Do you agree? Cite three examples of ways someone your age can work to improve our country.

7. Imagine you are either Adams or Otis. Make notes for what you wish to discuss with the other during tea.



ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

The Spirit of Faction

Contact the local offices of the Republican and Democratic parties or the national offices in Washington, D.C. for copies of party platforms. Compare each party platform by answering these questions.

1) Name two ways the platforms differ on (a) economic issues, and (b) social issues.

2) Which party platform in your opinion best lives up to the goals described by the framers of the preamble? Why?

3) Explain why you agree or disagree with the following statement: Political parties make our nation more democratic because they give ordinary citizens a way to select political candidates, help influence their positions on key issues, and encourage citizens to vote.

In which Sally and Otis discuss the tea invitation and what Otis plans to say to Adams about the Republic, civic virtue, and the Articles of Confederation.

SALLY on stage. OTIS rushes in.

OTIS: Sally! Adams has invited me to tea! Here, look.

He shows her the invitation.

SALLY: I cannot believe . . .

OTIS: My own private Tea Assembly! Wait till I tell the fellows about this!

SALLY: You mustn't accept.

OTIS: Why not? Do you fear he will bite me?

SALLY: No . . .

OTIS: What is it? Speak plainly, my girl.

SALLY: I cannot speak at all, if you insist on kissing me.

OTIS: There now. I restrain myself at arm's length.

HE kisses her hand. SHE laughs.

SALLY: You are foolish.

OTIS: (waves the invitation) Obviously, Sam Adams doesn't agree with your appraisal.

SALLY: What does he want?

TAKE NOTE

During class discussion of this scene, you may wish to refer to the major points of the essay on women and the revolution entitled "A Change of Masters" on page 70, as well as to information about the 18th-century ideal of civic virtue in Robert Gross's essay on page 61.

GLOSSARY

affectation: n. An attempt to assume or exhibit what is not natural or real; esp. in speech or behavior.
appraisal: n. An estimated value set on property.
Common: n. A piece of land, owned jointly and used by the entire community.
demeanor: n. Outward bearing or behavior.
elitism: n. Governance based on a group or body considered or treated as socially superior.
histrionics: n. Pertaining to the stage or actors; theatrical; melodramatic.
pauper: n. A very poor person.
perpetuate: v. To give an enduring character or existence to.
vagabond: n. One who wanders from place to place; a homeless person.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Describe the relationship between Sally and Otis. Do you think he treats her as an intellectual and social equal? Why or why not?

2. Paraphrase Otis' mock speech to Adams. What point(s) is he making? Do you agree with Otis? Explain.

OTIS: My charming company, of course. Surely you understand that.

SALLY: This battle of words in the newspaper has made your head swell.

OTIS: And you, of course, have gained nothing by being seen on the arm of this swelled head as we walk in the Common. Is that it?

SALLY: Harry, I am with you because I love you. Not because I wish to be stared at and whispered about by gossip-mongers.

OTIS: I am cut to the quick! My own fiancée accuses me of seeking celebrity!

SALLY: Stop play-acting!

OTIS: Bring the smelling salts! I fear I shall never recover! Never mind. 'Tis too late. Bring me a bottle of good New England rum instead.

SALLY: Harry . . .

OTIS: All right. I'll settle for a kiss. Hurry! My pulse is weakening. The light grows dim.

HE collapses into a chair.

Remember me as I was. Not as I am. Farewell.

HE heaves a great sigh and "dies."

3. Imagine you are Adams and you have just heard Otis' speech. How would you reply?

4. George Washington wrote the following about the Articles of Confederation:

> The Firm League of Friendship is always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step. Without some alteration in our political system, the super-structure we have been raising, at the expense of so much blood and treasure, must fall. We are fast verging to an anarchy and confusion.

Pretend you are one of the characters in the play. Write a letter to Washington in which you comment on his view of the Articles of Confederation and his belief in the need for a stronger, national government.

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

An ERA?

A federal equal rights amendment (ERA) has not yet been ratified. Pretend you work for an advertising agency. Create a 1) print, 2) radio, or 3) TV ad to urge the passage or the defeat of the ERA.

Perhaps analyze a pending congressional bill regarding interpretation of the 14th amendment in lieu of the ERA or a clipping thesis on an ERA battle in your state, including pro/con arguments. Then debate whether or not the class would vote to ratify ERA.

SALLY: Is this what I have been betrothed to? A character from a sentimental novel?

OTIS: Our children will applaud my histrionics.

HE dies again.

SALLY: Our children shall think their father a lunatic.

OTIS: And a brilliant lawyer! Writer! Perhaps even a politician!

HE prepares to "die" again.

SALLY: Harry, no more death scenes. Please?

OTIS: You are absolutely correct, Miss Foster. If I am to accept Mr. Adams invitation -- and I am -- I had best assume an appropriate demeanor.

HE gets up and addresses the chair as if Adams were seated in it.

Mr. Adams, sir. I am honored by your gracious hospitality. As a fellow American, I am indeed rewarded to be in the presence of one who has fought long and hard to create our new nation, to maintain the high moral and social standards of our Puritan forefathers, to keep our thirteen states free of the taint of British elitism and economic affectation. --What's that?-- Oh, indeed, sir. I have learned the Articles of Confederation by heart. Shall I recite . . . ? Beg pardon, sir? -- My favorite? Article 4, of course. (HE speaks as if reading from a

The Second Confederation

The first confederation of states was created by the Articles of Confederation; the second by the Constitution of the Confederate States of America. The latter document was written in a convention in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1861. It made few, but some very significant changes in the original U.S. Constitution. In the view of the Confederates, the purpose of these changes was to preserve, not destroy, the legacy of the Framers by ensuring state sovereignty and individual rights within a union of states. Interestingly, some of these same stipulations are being suggested as constitutional amendments today.

Confederate Changes in the U.S. Constitution

1. The Bill of Rights was written directly into the body of the Constitution.
2. Protective tariffs were outlawed.
3. Fiscal restraint was promoted, for example, by making the post office system pay for itself. Any bill that appropriated money had "to specify in federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation."
4. The President was given a line item veto.
5. The President was given one 6-year term.
6. State legislators could impeach federal judges serving in their state.
7. The Confederate Constitution could only be amended by a national convention which could adopt only amendments suggested by the state legislatures, not by Congress.
8. Congress could make no law "denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves."

Evaluate each of the eight changes made by the Confederates. Then write a brief evaluation of each provision in terms of the following:

a. Does the provision give the states more sovereignty?

b. Does the provision further limit the power of the central government?

c. Does the provision further protect individual rights?

dull legal document): The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens--(smiles) Very clever, sir. But do you really think all the "paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice" will adapt to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations? The poor tiny State seems overcrowded already.

SALLY: Harry! You wouldn't!

OTIS: Wouldn't I?

"The Powers that Be"

Although many American leaders like Washington, Hamilton, Madison and John Adams believed that the government created by the Articles of Confederation was too weak; other citizens disagreed. In fact, one reason it took so long for New Hampshire citizens to consent to be governed by the Articles was their fear that the government created was too strong. Not one single New Hampshire town during the debate over the Articles "suggested that the Articles provided the Continental Congress with insufficient power," notes Dartmouth historian Jere Daniell.

Look at the following list of activities our national government does today. Which was the Confederation Congress allowed to do under the Articles of Confederation?

- make a foreign treaty
- coin and issue money
- set up a post office
- declare war and negotiate peace treaties
- draft soldiers
- make bankruptcy laws
- regulate interstate commerce
- levy a federal income tax
- borrow money
- charter banks

Fighting for Virtue: Samuel Adams' Republic

by Robert A. Gross
Director of American Studies
College of William and Mary

It is ironic, yet wonderfully appropriate, that Samuel Adams should serve as the central figure in Jack Carroll's play to commemorate the Bicentennial of the U. S. Constitution. For Adams, the foremost Revolutionary of Massachusetts, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was at once a bitter foe of the theatre and a lukewarm supporter of the Constitution. The two positions were closely linked. They followed from the central mission of Adams' life: to insure the character of New Englanders and of Americans as a free people.

Every school-child in Massachusetts once knew that Samuel Adams instigated the famous Tea Party of December 16, 1773. That may be only a legend. But "The Other Boston Tea Party," the subject of our play, has a sure basis in fact. It involves a little-known controversy that stormed in Boston during 1785, when a group of young people formed a club, the *Sans Souci*, for the purpose of dancing, playing cards, and drinking tea. The Tea Assembly, as it was called, may seem to us a harmless amusement. To Samuel Adams, it threatened the very survival of the new republic. He fought as passionately to close the club as to suppress the theatre. Pitting "Old Revolutionaries," like Adams, against the rising generation, represented by the youthful law student, Harrison Gray Otis, the conflict was one of those moments in history that symbolize the concerns of an entire era.

No virtue, no republic. On that axiom turned the public meaning of the American Revolution to the leading Patriots of '75 and '76, like Samuel Adams. For them, resistance to Britain was not simply a political struggle against "taxation without representation," it was a moral crusade to forge a new society as well as polity, a *republic* of free, virtuous individuals. Self-government, it was held, rested upon popular character, upon the readiness of individuals to sacrifice private interests and pleasures for the common good. "A Citizen," Adams affirmed, "owes everything to the Commonwealth." With this faith, he set out to remake Boston into "a Christian Sparta."

But that ideal was battered by the long, difficult War for Independence, during which enthusiasm for liberty was inevitably sapped by economic woes and military demands.

Disillusion set in, only to deepen as the new republic struggled to sustain independence in the face of economic depression, internal rebellion, and diplomatic defeat. By 1785, when the tempest over the Tea Assembly erupted, the cause of virtue was a beleaguered faith. By 1787-88, with the writing and ratification of the Constitution, it was in retreat.

Happily, "The Other Boston Tea Party" catches up these momentous issues in the witty style of an 18th-century comedy of manners. The controversy over the Tea Assembly was not simply a contest between ancients and moderns. The disputants were males, but entangled in this debate were fundamental questions about the relations between men and women in the new republic. On this matter, young Otis looked backwards, while the old Revolutionary Adams envisioned a more egalitarian future. In the play, as in life, Betsey and Samuel Adams form a close union, a political as well as family partnership, sealed by mutual love and respect. By contrast, Otis and his fiancée Sally Foster are a Tea Assembly in microcosm, engaging in light banter and playing at love. Otis cannot take "my Sally" seriously and is astonished to find Adams talking politics with his wife. He has not yet grasped the remarkable transformation of women's roles wrought by the Revolution. Females were still denied equal citizenship. But a new ideal had emerged--Republican Motherhood--by which women like Betsey Adams and Sally Foster claimed a responsibility to the public good.

Three years after the Tea Assembly debate, Samuel Adams had to confront this far more important choice of deciding upon the new Constitution. All of his sympathies lay in the Anti-Federalist camp. His lifelong battle had been against a powerful central government. The issue was familiar: the unending contest between liberty and power. Yet, at this moment, Adams' faith was harder-pressed than ever. On the one side, Shays' Rebellion had undercut his vision of a selfless people; on the other, the Federalists presumed to speak in the language of "We the People." Not surprisingly, he wavered about his decision, before endorsing the new government--on the assurance that future amendments would guarantee the liberties of the people. His was a crucial vote that helped to win Massachusetts' ratification of the Constitution.

From a Tea Assembly to a Constitution: the questions Adams faced two hundred years ago took different forms from those before us today. But the central problem of his politics is still pressing. Can self-government survive among a people absorbed in private interests and intermittently attentive to the public good? Adams would surely have been bemused to find this issue posed so compellingly on the stage. But in "The Other Boston Tea Party," the world of Samuel and Betsey Adams, of Harry Otis and Sally Foster, comes alive, summoning us to imagine the hopes and fears of Americans in 1787-88, and prodding us to revitalize our democratic faith.

FURTHER READING

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.

Pocock, J. G. A. *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1975. See especially chapter 15: "The Americanization of Virtue."

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1969.

_____. "Interests and Disinterestedness in the Making of the Constitution." In Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II, eds. *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1987.

In which Otis comes for tea, and he and Adams discuss, after a few awkward moments, popular sovereignty, freedom of speech, egalitarianism, and the nature and responsibilities of liberty.

SAM: He is late, of course.

BETSEY: In twenty minutes, he will be late. At present he is not yet arrived.

SAM: It is past four o'clock.

BETSEY: Samuel, if you do not quit pacing about, I shall prick my finger and ruin my petit-point.

SAM: That is the most illogical sentence you have ever uttered.

BETSEY: May I say, sir, that this has been a most frustrating day for me.

SAM: Just another Saturday.

BETSEY: Humm! You have not sat down in one place for more than two minutes. If I leave the room, you follow me.

SAM: I missed my walk this morning.

BETSEY: You decided it was too cold.

SAM: It is too cold!

BETSEY: Aha! Am I to be responsible for February's weather, too?

. . . .

Knock at front door.

TAKE NOTE

As a follow-up activity, have students interview older family members, neighbors or residents at an elderly home or senior citizen center about what they wish to pass on to others. This is one way you can involve students in their community, using the play as a vehicle to do so.

GLOSSARY

given name: n. The name one is born with.
pompous: adj. Characterized by ostentation, self-important
scrupulous: adj. Careful; exact.
station: n. Social standing, rank or condition in life.
tedious: adj. Tiresome, boring.
vexing: adj. Annoying, irritating.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In this scene, Otis asks Adams, "Wouldn't you be anxious if you were meeting you for the first time?" What does Otis mean? Would you have been anxious had you been in Harrison's shoes? Why or why not?

2. Choose three adjectives to describe the first meeting between Adams and Otis and then justify your selection.

3. When Otis praises Adams' political and historical contributions, Adams argues that he as an individual is not important, that any significance his life has had was as a person "who has been called upon by the people to represent them . . . It is they who created

Thank the Lord.

SAM: As we agreed?

BETSEY: Yes, dear. One cup should he be pompous and boring. And out the door with him.

. . . .

SAM: Betsey, this is Mr. Harrison Gray Otis.

OTIS: An honor to make your acquaintance, madam.

BETSEY: Please sit near the fire, Mr. Otis. You must be chilled.

OTIS: Thank you. It is an exceptionally cold day, even for this time of year.

SAM: Have you a particular interest in the weather, Mr. Otis?

OTIS: Not really. (smiles) That is one item to be left in God's hands, is it not?

BETSEY: Don't you think everything is in God's hands, Mr. Otis?

OTIS: Only in the abstract. Otherwise, why would he have provided us with the power to think and make choices? May I make a request of you both?

SAM: Of course, Mr. Otis. You are our guest.

OTIS: Call me Harrison--or Harry? The truth is, I'm a bit anxious about this meeting now

the United States of America, not Sam Adams. It is they who took the risk of being free." Write a short paragraph to clarify Adams' point.

4. In this scene, Samuel Adams quotes Rev. John Calvin, "I know by their roaring I have hit them right." What does this expression mean? Why does Sam Adams use it? What point is he making?

5. Our Constitution begins with the words, "We the People." In 1788, the majority of the people were not represented at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Nor did the majority of the people participate in ratifying the Constitution. Nor were they empowered by it to be fully active citizens. Given these facts, do you think the Constitution should have begun with those three words? Explain.

6. An aristocratic British woman visitor to America in the years just prior to the Revolution wrote home, "In America, there is a most disgusting Equality." Sam Adams, on the other hand, believed strongly that in a democratic republic, "A citizen is not measured in terms of his links to the past, but in terms of his individual worth. . . . You [Otis] will have done irreparable harm if you continue to divide people into classes: rich-poor; educated-ignorant." Write a short script for a conversation between Sam and the gentlewoman on the subject of equality and class.

7. Membership in the Tea Assembly was based, in Otis' words, on a person's "station." Adams responded, "Which station? Financial? Social? Educational? Hereditary?" Are there "stations" in America today? Should there be? Imagine your class is going to hold a debate entitled "Elitism v. Egalitarianism, 1789/1989." Make an outline for your debate presentation on this topic.

8. Betsey Adams says that "some politicians . . . [are] so puffed up with their own self-importance that they never take the time to listen to a good argument." Do you think she was talking about anyone in particular? If so, who? Create a political cartoon to illustrate Betsey's point or your own view of American politicians.

9. Sam and Betsey Adams are concerned about passing on the lessons they have learned in their lives and their ideals to the next generation. What lessons and ideals do they wish to pass on to others? What lessons and ideals have your parents, grandparents or other role models passed on to you? What lessons and ideals would you wish to pass on to others? Compare the 3 lists. How are they similar or dissimilar?

that it's finally arrived. Would it be too improper to use my given name?

SAM: Not if you have given us permission to do so, Harrison.

OTIS: Of course, I will not use such a familiarity in addressing you.

SAM: Good.

BETSEY: Shall I prepare the tea?

SAM: Please.

SHE starts to exit

And Betsey, I think you had better use the large kettle.

. . . .

OTIS: Mr. Adams, I must protest.

SAM: Yes, Harrison. I read the newspapers, too. You are full of protestations. That is why I responded with Calvin's phrase: "I know by their roaring I have hit them right."

OTIS: So this freedom you speak of has its limits. Any free man who moves beyond your definition of the word is a menace to those around him. Am I that menace, sir?

SAM: You are one of them.

OTIS: Because I chose to open a Tea Assembly rather than spend my free time haunting the taverns of Boston? Because I prefer to spend an evening in the company

10. Do you think Samuel Adams would agree or disagree with this statement by fellow Boston revolutionary leader, Alexander Hamilton? Why or why not?

> *All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born; the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true to fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right.*
>
> *Alexander Hamilton*

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

Measure for Measure

Sam tells Otis that in America, "A citizen is not measured in terms of his links to the past, but in terms of his individual worth." What does he mean? Is this the case today? Explain and supply newspaper and magazine articles as supporting evidence for your point of view.

Radio Days

Have students use their answers to Question 6 to produce a radio play, recorded on audio tape and stored in the school library or at a constitutional activity center for listening by other students.

of ladies and gentlemen of good breeding instead of staring into a beer mug? Forgive me, sir, but I detect no crime in my actions.

SAM: May I ask then what is the good of your little club?

OTIS: It allows like-minded people to come together and enjoy each other's . . .

SAM: And how do you determine their like-mindedness? Is there an examination?

OTIS: No! We know each other. Most of us. We are friends.

SAM: Harrison, I regret that you have no friends with whom you disagree. It must be terribly dull to see all these like-minded people nodding their heads in agreement with you. Of course, there is no danger in stating an opinion which causes no opposition. Don't you agree?

OTIS: The immediate danger, sir, would be in providing you with any answer at all. You would pounce on it like a cat seizing a mouse. Do you truly believe that people--some people--thrive only by seeking out those who are not like-minded?

SAM: Some of us have no choice.

. . . .

OTIS: I have done no harm to anyone.

Safe Deposit

Consider this quote from Thomas Jefferson. Which characters in the play would agree with him? Do you? Write an editorial to explain how you see the relationship between education and a successful democracy.

Be sure your editorial includes ways you think Jefferson's idea can be better implemented in contemporary America.

> *I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves, & if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, then remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion with education.*
>
> *Thomas Jefferson*

It's All Relative

Otis says, "Women are not interested in political conversation." However, his cousin James Otis, noted Boston lawyer and revolutionary, wrote, "Are not women born as free as men? Would it not be infamous to assert that the ladies are all slaves by nature? If every man and woman born or to be born has a right to be consulted and must accede to the original compact [the Constitution] before they can, with any kind of justice, be said to be bound by it, will not the compact be ever forming and never finished?"

Work with a classmate to write a script for a conversation between the two relatives concerning women's rights and the lack of them in the newly-proposed Constitution. Perform the scene for your classmates or use it to produce an audio or videotape.

SAM: You will have done irreparable harm if you continue to divide people into classes: rich-poor, educated-ignorant. I ask you, Harrison, what has been the purpose of the last nine years of war and reorganization if younger men like you seek to return our nation to the systems we have rejected?

OTIS: I have no such intention. You insult me by your inference.

OTIS starts to exit.

SAM: Then sit down, have your tea, and tell me your intentions.

OTIS: To what purpose, sir? You have already formed your opinion.

SAM: Have I? Why are you then standing in my house? Why am I not spending my time with my like-minded friends? Stay or go, Harrison. You are free to choose.

Pause. OTIS crosses to chair and sits.

(calls off) Betsey! Bring us our tea, please! Harrison and I need your company!

OTIS: I thought you wished to continue our debate.

SAM: I do indeed.

OTIS: But women are not interested in political conversation.

SAM: Is that a fact?

OTIS: Well, in my experience . . .

Get Out the Vote

Betsey and Sam Adams believed very strongly that it was the duty of every American to actively participate in their self-government. However, many Americans choose not to participate in their self-government by voting. Although 18-year-olds won the vote after passage of the 26th Amendment, less than 20% of those young people eligible to vote did so in the last presidential election. What arguments would you use to convince eligible young voters to exercise their freedom of choice at the ballot box and to either run for political office themselves or encourage other qualified citizens to do so? Create a 30-second public service radio or TV spot to get out the vote and to encourage young people to participate in the American political process.

Class Debate

Use your students' answers to question 7 as a basis for a class debate. Divide into 2 teams. Each team should discuss and develop a debate outline. Two spokespersons should be chosen to represent the team. The first will present a prepared 5-minute argument based on the group's outline. The second will have 2 minutes to rebut the argument made by the opposing team. You may wish to invite guest debate judges or select 3-5 student judges. Judges should discuss each team's performance in terms of argument content and presentation. A consensus should be reached among the judges to determine the winner. Be sure that in announcing their judgment, the student judges compliment and positively reinforce the members of both teams.

BETSEY enters with tea tray.

BETSEY: Please continue, Harrison.

SAM: We were about to discuss women and politics.

BETSEY: And what is the topic?

SAM: That is the topic.

BETSEY: I don't understand.

SAM: Harrison believes politics is of no use to your sex.

OTIS: I thought you might find our discussion tedious.

BETSEY: I might indeed. Political matters can be annoying at times.

OTIS: (to SAM) You hear that, sir?

BETSEY: Of course, it is not politics itself which is so vexing. It is the politicians, or rather I should say, some of the politicians who bore me. So puffed up with their own self-importance that they never take the time to listen to a good argument. (laughs) I wonder if some of them might not be just as happy giving their orations into a mirror. One lump or two, Harrison?

A Change in Masters

adapted from materials written by
Lorenca Rosal, Linda Kerber, and Margaret Darrow

The Glorious Fourth--again appears
A Day of Days--and year of years,
The sum of sad disasters,
Where all the mighty gains we see
With all their Boasted liberty,
Is only Change of Masters . . .

Diary of Elizabeth Drinker, July 4, 1785

"You know that our sex are doomed to be obedient in every stage of life so that we shan't be great gainers of the Contest."

Margaret Hampton

During the eighteenth century, American women had the legal existence of under-age children. Most women held no property and seldom inherited it as the succession of an estate passed to the sons. Adultery was considered grounds for a suit of divorce only for men; women had to have proof of additional injury. Women did not have legal custody of their children, nor did they have the right to vote.

As one legal historian noted, "That a woman should possess any rights beyond those of marrying and giving daughters in marriage, ruling over the cuisine of the household, and superintending the education of her infant children was a thought rarely, if ever, entertained."

Nevertheless, women played an important role in the "Great Contest for Freedom." They were largely responsible for the successful boycott of British goods before the war. During the Revolution, women served as the economic and political helpmates of their husbands. Women kept the farms and mills working. They fended off squatters and protected family property. As farm wife Rachel Wells put it,

I have don as much to carrey on the war as maney that Sett now at the healm of government.

To many women it only seemed natural that they would be involved in the Revolution. Mercy Otis Warren, Harrison Otis' aunt, wrote,

> *As every domestic enjoyment depends on the decision of the Mighty Contest, who can be an unconcerned and silent spectator? Not surely the fond mother, or the affectionate wife who trembles lest her dearest connections should fall victims of lawless power, or . . . pour out their warm blood as libation at the shrine of Liberty.*

It was precisely because of a woman's duty to her own family, Mercy argued, that a woman should take a political position. A politically-minded woman is not a threat to her family, she argued, but its protector.

After the war, women continued to work for The Cause by raising money and gathering supplies to provide for needy widows, war orphans and disabled veterans. As Prof. Margaret Darrow of Dartmouth College writes, "The American Revolution drew women into political life in a variety of ways and, for many women, opened up new areas of passionate intent and activity. But laudable as these activities were, they were always viewed as peripheral, never crucial to the fate of the Revolution. And nothing in women's efforts challenged male hegemony in politics or that women's proper role was domestic. . . . Once liberty was won, women's role was to raise sons for the New Republic."

A Woman's Place

In 1776, Abigail Adams called upon her husband and his colleagues in the Continental Congress to "Remember the Ladies" in their plans for the new nation and teased that if women's needs were not taken into account, they would foment a rebellion of their own. Yet neither the Continental Congress nor the Constitutional Convention seriously considered women's political rights.

The exclusion of married women from the vote was based on the same principle that excluded men without property. If the will of the people was in fact to be expressed by voting, it was important that each vote be independent and uncoerced. A man who had no property and who was dependent on his landlord or employer for survival was thought to be too vulnerable to undue economic and political pressure. It was feared that if such men voted, the result would not be the will of all individuals, for landlords and employers could in effect exercise multiple votes.

Married women were seen to be in much the same situation as unpropertied men. In accordance with British tradition, when a woman married, her civil identity was absorbed by her husband. A married couple became a legal entity, like a corporation; the pair was legally considered a single person with a single will. The volition of the pair was always taken to be the same as the actual will of the husband. Husband and wife were, it was sometimes said, "one person" at law. Because they shared a single will, they could not

testify against each other. All property which the wife brought to the marriage was vested in her husband, who could make decisions about it. He could sell it, rent it out, or alter it radically, without her consent.

It is important to note that there were some constraints on what the husband might do. For example, a widow had the right to dower--that is, to the use of one-third of the land which her husband had owned. If the husband proposed to sell any lands which might cut into the dower, the wife had to give her separate consent to a deed of sale, which she signed alone before a judge. This private examination was supposed to offer some protection against duress, but it could not have offered much since the woman returned to coverture afterwards. Judges thought it was unwholesome for husband and wife to have separate economic interest: "it relaxes the great bond of family union," said one South Carolina judge.

If a married woman could not buy and sell property without her husband's consent--if she was in fact "covered" by her husband's identity for civil and political (though not significantly criminal) purposes--then it stood to reason that she ought not to vote. To give a vote to a person so dependent on another's will was in fact to give a double vote to the husband, rather than to enfranchise the wife. In a society in which it was assumed that the wife did the husband's bidding, it seemed absurd to give married men a political advantage over their unmarried brothers.

The logic that excluded married women should not have, on the fact of it, excluded unmarried women--including widows--who were not under the immediate influence of an adult man and who could buy and sell their property and were obligated to pay taxes. Only in New Jersey, where the state constitution of 1776 granted suffrage to "all free inhabitants" who could meet property and residence requirements, did women vote; in 1790, possibly because of Quaker influence, an election law used the phrase "he or she" in referring to voters. The general tendency in suffrage law throughout the nineteenth century was to broaden the electorate by gradually eliminating property and racial qualifications; yet, the New Jersey election statute of 1790 was not replicated elsewhere. Why?

In New Jersey in 1797, women were thought to have voted as a bloc in favor of the Federalist candidate for the state legislature in Elizabethtown. Their votes appeared to have made a real difference in the outcome of the election. In its aftermath, the defeated Democratic-Republicans launched a bitter and snide campaign. The campaign had two themes, which were to appear and reappear as long as women's suffrage was debated in this country: first, that women who appeared at the polls were unfeminine--forgetful of their proper place--and second, that women were easily manipulated--if not by husbands, then by fathers and brothers. Again the argument was made that to enfranchise any woman was, in fact, to give some man or men undue influence. It took ten years for the campaign to gain its victory, but in 1807 New Jersey passed a new election law excluding all women from the polls. No other state attempted New Jersey's experiment.

Sowing Seeds

In the end, the U.S. Constitution denied women the right to vote, to hold political office and even to consent to the Constitution--the law women, too, would have to obey. Mercy's brother, fiery lawyer James Otis, was concerned:

> *Are not women born as free as men? Would it not be infamous to assert that the ladies are all slaves by nature?*

Denied the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, women created their own outlets for political involvement. The church and social groups they formed as the century drew to a close would be the foundation of the temperance, abolitionist and eventually, the suffrage and women's rights movements of the 19th and 20th centuries.

FURTHER READING

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DePauw, Linda Grant. *Founding Mothers: Women in America in the Revolutionary Era*. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1975.

Evans, Elizabeth. *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

Gross, Robert A. *The Minutemen and Their World*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976. See pp. 98-104 and 184-185.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1980.

Larned, Ellen Douglas. *History of Windham County, Connecticut.* Bicentennial edition, Chester, CT: Pequot Press, 1976 (orig. published, Worcester, MA, 1874-1880.) See the account of the house built by the women while the men of the community were off in the Continental forces.

Lewis, Jan. "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 44 (1987), pp. 689-721.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford, and Rosemary Skinner Keller eds. *Women and Religion in America: The Colonial and Revolutionary Period, A Documentary History.* New York: Harper and Row, 1983.

Wilson, Joan Hoff. "The Illusion of Change: Women in the American Revolution." In Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism.* DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976.

In which Sally Foster and Betsey Adams have their own conversation about life and politics in the new Republic, in particular the role of women.

SALLY: *(to the audience) "Most invigorating!" That was how Harry described his meeting at dinner that evening. Of course, my parents were most impressed that he had tea with Samuel Adams and his wife. For my part, I was glad the ordeal was over.*

BETSEY: *(to the audience) So you can imagine my surprise when I heard Samuel inviting him back for yet another Saturday tea.*

SALLY: *And another!*

BETSEY: *And another!*

SALLY: *Three years of arguments and debates. The Tea Assembly doesn't even exist anymore, but Harry and Mr. Adams always manage to find a new topic of interest to fight about.*

BETSEY: *Usually, I join right in with them, but there are times when Harrison's arrival provides the perfect opportunity for me to leave the house and let them disagree with each other at the top of their voices. After all, I do have a home to maintain. And a few social engagements.*

Betsey smiles at SALLY and they move together

(to Sally) I was so pleased to receive your invitation.

SO.

TAKE NOTE

One of the central themes of the play is the changing relationship between men and women in American society and, by implication, how changes in the Constitution, our highest law, reflect that ongoing relationship. "A Change in Masters" (page 70) presents some of the historical issues concerning women and the Constitution and raises questions about the larger topic of equality for all people under the law.

GLOSSARY

anarchy: n. The state of society where there is no law or supreme power; political disorder.
facade: n. The face or front of anything.
invigorating: adj. Energizing, strengthening.
replication: n. Reproduction or copy.
sentiment: n. Refined feeling.
tonic: A medicine having an invigorating effect.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. At first, Betsey Adams thought that Otis was "just one more replication of the new American, more interested in facades than in anything worth lasting." Why did Betsey change her mind? Do you think her quote describes Americans today? Why or why not?

2. Sally told Betsey, "There are times when I feel that Harry uses me as a sounding board. That he doesn't really see me at all." Betsey responded, "Oh, I think he *sees* you well enough. Perhaps he hasn't learned to *listen* to you." Work with a classmate. Pretend one of you is Sally and the other is the newspaper columnist "Dear Abby." Write a letter and a reply concerning Sally and her

SALLY: *I am honored, Mrs.--Betsey. I'll try to remember. The tea will be ready any moment now.*

BETSEY: *There's no hurry. My absence won't be detected until dinnertime. Then Samuel will enact his entire discussion with Harrison for me in complete detail.*

SALLY: *That's exactly what Harry does for me!*

BETSEY: *And I'm sure that he is just as objective as Samuel pretends to be, yes?*

SALLY: *I find it hard to believe that your husband could remain so interested in what Harry has to say.*

BETSEY: *May I be candid? I am amazed that there have been times when I am interested in what your Harrison has to say. He cares so much about this nation. And he's the best tonic for Samuel.*

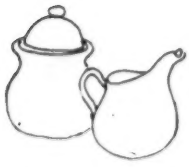
SALLY: *What do you mean?*

BETSEY: *What good is an idea if it is not heard? What good is a man when he starts to believe that no one cares to listen? I fully expected to despise your young man on sight. To me he seemed to be just one more replication of the new American. More interested in facades than in anything worth lasting. I was wrong, I'm happy to say. Now, three years later, I love him as if he were my own son.*

SALLY: *But he can be so full of opinions.*

relationship with her fiancée, how it might be improved, and what it illustrates about the inequality of the sexes in 18th-century America.

3. Betsey tells Sally to "be ready for a lesson in anarchy." Define *anarchy*. Then pretend you are Sally. Write a journal entry in which you imagine what that "lesson in anarchy" might be.



ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

The Play's the Thing

As scene 8 ends, Betsey and Sally are planning to meet again. That meeting does not appear in this production. Write this missing scene between Betsey and Sally. Be sure to include a description of the scene and its location, a list of any necessary props, any specific notes on staging and direction, and of course the dialogue. Afterwards, you may wish to work with two classmates to stage the missing scene.

Everything Old is New Again

In George Bush's 1989 presidential inaugural speech, he echoed some of the fears Sam and Betsey Adams had had 200 years earlier.

> *Have we changed as a nation . . . ? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice? My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts, we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it. . . . The old ideas are new again because they're not old; they're timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part, in pitching in.*

Write an editorial about your views on civic virtue and active participation in self-government. Are the old ideas new again? How is the concept of civic virtue an ongoing thread in the life of the

BETSEY: *Would you prefer that he had none?*

SALLY: *Sometimes . . .*

BETSEY: *Yes, Sally?*

SALLY: *There are times when I feel that Harry uses me as a sounding board. That he doesn't really see me at all.*

BETSEY: *Oh, I think he sees you well enough. Perhaps he hasn't learned to listen to you. I had a terrible time with him myself on that account.*

SALLY: *You did?*

BETSEY: *Of course, I did have one advantage. Since dancing was out of the question, he was forced to sit and talk with me, just as Samuel does. (laughs) Forgive me. They always seem so astonished at our intelligence, our perception, our lack of sentiment when they might expect sentiment. The new Constitution could be an excellent topic for you to work on together. You do have a copy?*

SALLY: *My father won't allow it in the house. He says the Articles of Confederation are sufficient. He and Harry got into a terrible row last week over it.*

BETSEY: *A dilemma. You cannot disobey your father. What about Harrison?*

SALLY: *He swore to bring one here. That's why they had the row. The tea!*

SALLY rises and starts to exit.

American republic? In your opinion, can the republic survive another 200 years without it?

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner

Betsey Adams notes that men "always seem so astonished at our intelligence, our perception, our lack of sentiment when they might expect sentiment." Work with a group of classmates to enact a dinner party at the Adams' home. "Guests" should discuss the status of women in 18th-century America, especially the Constitution in terms of equality for women.

After performing the enactment for the entire class, hold a discussion about the role of women in 20th-century America and what you see ahead in the 21st century. Have times really changed? What gains have been made? What more needs to be done? How might these changes best be accomplished? Would men benefit as well?

The Guest List:

Mercy Otis Warren
Sally Foster
James Otis
John Adams
Harrison Otis
Abigail Adams
John Q. Adams

To help you prepare for this activity, research the opinions of your guests on women and the Constitution. Some samples of their views follow:

- Betsey and Samuel's nephew John Quincy Adams, a contemporary of Harrison Otis, wrote:

> *Why does it follow that women are fitted for nothing but the cares of domestic life? For bearing children, and cooking the food of a family . . . and promoting the immediate personal comfort of their husbands, brothers, and sons? . . . I admit that it is their duty to attend to such things. But I say that the correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue when they do depart from the domestic circle and enter on the concerns of their country, of Humanity and of their God. . . .*

BETSEY: *Sally, would it be possible for you to meet with me at the Common at 3 tomorrow? I think you may be ready for a lesson in anarchy.*

They move apart

SALLY: *(to the audience) I told her I could not possibly . . .*

BETSEY: *She was there a half-hour early.*

SALLY: *It was most invigorating! And I did not disobey my father.*

BETSEY: *Most invigorating indeed.*

- John's mother and Sam and Betsey's sister-in-law, Abigail Adams, wrote,

> *Patriotism in the female sex is the most disinterested of all virtues. Excluded from honours and from offices, we cannot attach ourselves to the State of Government from having held a place of Eminence. Even in freest countrys our property is subject to the control and disposal of our partners, to whom the Laws have given a sovereign Authority. Deprived of a voice in legislation, obliged to submit to those Laws which are imposed upon us, is it not sufficient to make us indifferent to the publick Welfare? Yet all History and every Age exhibit Instances of patriotic virtue in the female Sex; which considering our situation, equals the most Heroick.*

- Meanwhile, Harrison Otis' aunt, playwright, and leading Anti-Federalist Mercy Otis Warren, argued that it was precisely *because* of a woman's duty to her family that a woman *should* be active politically. A politically-minded woman, Mercy argued, was not a threat, but the protector and advocate of her family. This is particularly true during times of war or national crisis, she argued:

> *As every domestic enjoyment depends on the decision of the Mighty Contest [War of Independence], who can be an unconcerned and silent spectator? Not surely the fond mother, or the affectionate wife who trembles lest her dearest connections should fall victims of lawless power or . . . pour out their warm blood as libation at the shrine of Liberty.*

In which Sally and Harrison disagree about theatre and discuss the ratification of the proposed Constitution and the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, all of which contributes to Otis' changing views on women in general and Sally in particular.

The afternoon of January 30, 1788. SALLY alone on stage reading a book. She starts to laugh.

SALLY: Harry, you must hear this! (reads from the book) "Rat the Constitution! A fig for your Muses and your literature!"

OTIS (OFF): What are you saying?

SALLY: I am reading from this playbook.

OTIS (OFF): What playbook?

SALLY: The one I purchased yesterday at the bookseller's.

OTIS (OFF): There are better things to spend your money on than playbooks.

SALLY: It is very funny.

OTIS (OFF): It is immoral. All plays are immoral. Toss it in the fire.

. . . .

SHE sits and reads.

OTIS: You shouldn't read that.

SALLY: Afraid I shall be tainted by this licentious work of fiction? Really, Harry. If a devil pops through this door, I shall call you

TAKE NOTE

In this scene, Sally makes reference to offering Maine statehood if its citizens would agree to ratify the Constitution. You may wish to explain that Maine had been claimed by Massachusetts as early as the 17th century. This territory was also claimed by France, as part of its Canadian holdings. After the French and Indian War, Canada came under British rule under the Treaty of Paris (1763). In the years after the Revolution, portions of Maine were still claimed as part of Canadian territory by the British. This boundary dispute was not settled until 1842 as part of the Webster-Ashburn Treaty. Maine became a state in 1820.

GLOSSARY

constitution: n. A plan of government that describes the most important beliefs and laws by which the people are to be governed.
copious: adj. Plentiful, abundant.
diversion: n. That which relaxes and amuses; sport; pastime.
dubious: adj. Doubtful, not clear or straightforward.
levity: n. Unseemly frivolity, trifling gaiety.
Muses: n. Nine goddesses in Greek mythology; the inspiring goddess of a poet.
preclude: v. To render ineffectual or impossible; to shut out.
quota: n. A certain proportional share assigned to each in a division or to each member or body.
tainted: adj. Affected with corrupting influence; contaminated.
taunt: v. To jeer at; ridicule.

immediately. Go back to whatever it is that so occupies your afternoon.

OTIS: I am studying the new Constitution.

SALLY: And writing copious notes, of course.

OTIS: So?

SALLY: I'm quite sure I'll be able to decipher it myself, thank you.

OTIS: I'm not taking these notes for you. I am comparing . . .

SALLY: That is a relief.

. . . .

OTIS: What year was this published?

SALLY: 1788.

OTIS: This year?

SALLY: "I don't believe this!"

OTIS: Sally, a man has written a play about the new Constitution before it has even been ratified!

SALLY: It does not say a man. It says "written by an American."

SHE takes book back.

Since most of the men in the play are all rather silly fellows, I think it might be a woman's work.

SHE sits and reads.

. . . .

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Sally is reading a play about what subject? Why does she think the play might have been written by a woman?

2. In Scene 4, Harrison accused Samuel Adams of "turning an innocent amusement [the Tea Assembly] into a symbol of depravity." In Scene 9, Harrison disapproves of a book Sally is reading, criticizes her interest in theatre, and states that "there are better things to spend your money on than playbooks . . . All plays are immoral." Is Harry doing to Sally what Sam did to him? Explain. Do you agree with Harry? Why or why not? If you were Sally, what would you have said to your fiancée?

3. Otis feels frustrated and powerless. He tells Sally that the real problem is that "neither you nor I can vote to ratify the new Constitution." Who could? Refer to Art. VII of the U.S. Constitution.

4. Sally criticizes the logic of Harry's syllogism: "Sally loves Harry. Harry loves the new Constitution. Therefore, Sally loves the new Constitution." What point is Sally making? Try your hand at creating a syllogism concerning the Constitution.

5. Sally uses the analogy of a bad marriage contract to describe the Articles of Confederation. Explain her analogy. Do you agree with it? What alternative analogy would you use? Use your analogy to create a political cartoon about the Articles of Confederation.

6. What does Otis mean when he says that the "pledge [Articles of Confederation] is full of 'escape doors'"? Do you agree with Otis' view? Why or why not?

7. How have both Sally and Otis developed as characters from the beginning of the play? Has their relationship changed and developed as each has grown individually? For the better or worse? Explain.

OTIS: I hate arguments.

SALLY: Especially those you don't win.

OTIS: Well, I am going to do all I can to make sure that Massachusetts ratifies the new Constitution tomorrow.

SALLY: Good for you.

OTIS: And don't tell me I am only twenty-three and powerless!

SALLY: I haven't said a word.

OTIS: Only five states have ratified. If Massachusetts votes yes, Virginia and New York are likely to follow suit. Then only one more state will be required.

SALLY: You could solve that easily enough.

OTIS: How?

SALLY: Just go up to Maine and offer them statehood if they'll ratify the new Constitution.

OTIS: Maine?

SALLY: Well, you wouldn't want them to break away from Massachusetts and turn into Canadians, would you?

OTIS: I am shocked at your levity.

SALLY: Oh really, Harry.

FURTHER READING

The Articles of Confederation

Henderson, H. James. *Party Politics in the Continental Congress.* New York, 1974.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789.* New York, 1950.

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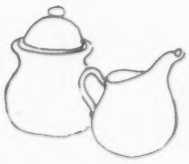

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

A Bill of Responsibilities

Make a list of ten rights Americans have under the Constitution as it exists today. Then, next to each right, list a civic responsibility implied by that right. For example, the right to a trial by jury might imply that citizens, when called upon, will serve as jurors to help guarantee that right to fellow citizens.

Afterwards, compare your list of responsibilities with those of your classmates. Combine them to create a Bill of Responsibilities. Publish this in your local school or community newspaper.

OTIS: This is a very serious matter. The nation's future is at stake. Our future is at stake.

SALLY: Our future?

OTIS: And our children's. And their children. Where are you going?

SALLY: I am going to lie down and rest in order to protect my own constitution from total decay.

OTIS: That's it, my girl. Close your eyes and think pretty thoughts rather than stand up and defend your point of view.

SALLY: Take my advice and leave the reading of minds to fortune-tellers. You are much better suited to the legal profession.

SHE starts to exit.

. . . .

OTIS: Sally, if the Constitution is not ratified, the United States will melt away. The Congress will be no more than a debating club waiting for the States to determine which topics it shall defend or attack. And if the States don't agree with the decision, they shall do as they please.

SALLY: But what about the Articles of Confederation?

OTIS: Too weak. Too full of compromises.

SALLY: Rather like a bad marriage contract, isn't it?

Federalism: Alive and Well?

In debating the newly-proposed Constitution, patriot Patrick Henry argued at the Virginia ratification convention

> *What right have they to say 'We the People . . .' States are the characteristics and soul of a confederation. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated national government of all the people of all the States.*

What would Samuel have had to say in reply? Betsey? Do you agree with Patrick Henry? Were his fears justified? Has our nation become one great consolidated mass or is there still state sovereignty? Did the Constitution succeed in dividing power between the individual sovereign states and the national government in a way that would achieve the goals stated in the document's Preamble? Use these questions to write a brief essay on Federalism.

OTIS: Exactly! Well, not exactly. What made you think of that?

SALLY: If you have thirteen States pledged to act as United States, and the Articles of Confederation are proof of that pledge, well then . . .

> HE says nothing but waits for her to continue.

Have I confused you?

OTIS: I am listening.

SALLY: Oh. Well, it seems to me that the pledge must be honored by all the States equally.

OTIS: But what if this pledge is full of "escape doors?" What if each State is required to provide a quota of soldiers for national defense, and New Hampshire fulfills its commitment. But Connecticut and Rhode Island tell the Congress they'd rather wait till next year . . .

SALLY: How can they do that?

OTIS: It is not only possible, my girl, Article Nine makes it legal. (laughs) A bad "marriage contract," indeed! I shall enjoy explaining your analogy at dinner tonight.

SALLY: Harry, could I not explain it as well myself?

. . . .

Federalism and Anti-Federalism

Prof. Kent Newmyer
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In Jack Carroll's "Other Boston Tea Party," what was initially an epistolary duel over tea assemblies between Sam Adams and Harry Otis turns into an argument over the meaning of the American Revolution, indeed a debate about the future of America. Speaking for the old Revolutionary generation, Adams saw tea assemblies as the onset of moral decadence, a sure sign that America had backslid from the purity of the Revolution. For Harry Otis, they were innocent amusements, an American freedom to enjoy the fruits of prosperity. The ratification struggle in Massachusetts in 1788 brought these contrary social visions into focus on politics. The lesson--the forgotten message of Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*--is that politics and culture are inseparable.

In Massachusetts, as in other states, the politics of ratification were subsumed in the ideological debate about liberty and power: how to strike a balance between them and how to establish institutions to preserve that balance. Massachusetts Federalists were champions of power in national government. Indeed, as one of them put it in the convention debates: "Power is the hinge on which the whole Constitution turns." And this was precisely what troubled Anti-Federalists like Sam Adams. For them, the Revolution had been a war for liberty against British tyranny. They resonated, as Bernard Bailyn has shown, to the radical English Whigs of the 18th century, who preached on the fragility of liberty and the aggrandizing nature of power. For Anti-Federalists, the Declaration of Independence was the sacred text. Their axiom of good government was Jefferson's: that the best government is the one that governs least. When government was necessary, they looked to the state legislatures as the best and most trustworthy source of popular will.

The newly-proposed Constitution assuredly would not govern least, nor did it place any faith in state governments, as Sam Adams and his Anti-Federalist friends were quick to complain. Scholars have pointed out (as did Betsey Adams in the play) that the Constitution grew naturally out of the Articles. But Anti-Federalists correctly saw the immense differences between the two and they cherished the Articles for the very reason that the Federalists despised them: because they enthroned localism. They saw the abandonment of the Articles at Philadelphia as a radical coup d'etat, sure evidence of the duplicitous nature of their opponents. A comparison of the Constitution with the Articles confirmed their fears that a conservative nationalist revolution was the object of the new Constitution. Not only did Article I, section 8, bestow vast new powers on

Congress, the *necessary and proper* clause of that section appeared to invite an open-ended choice in the means of implementation. The new Congress, Anti-Federalists argued, would become the old Parliament, which is why so much attention was given in the Massachusetts convention to the provision in the Constitution which gave Congress control over the time and place of elections, a jealousy of authority that appears quaint to modern eyes.

Proposed changes in the federal, executive, and judicial branches, when viewed from the localist perspective of the Anti-Federalists, posed equally great threats to liberty. Where the Articles had divided executive authority and subordinated it to the legislature, under the new constitution it was concentrated in a single head, raising the specter of an American king. Even more unsettling, federal law under the new constitution would operate directly on individuals and not on the states as the Articles had done. The federal judiciary, as bearer of this supreme federal law, then, was seen as a major threat to individual rights, an unacceptable invasion of republican localism by the arm of a distant sovereign.

Anti-Federalists in Massachusetts drew heavily on classical history to show the dangers of excessive power. The Federalists were less impressed with ancient history than with the history of the Articles and with practical reasons for maintaining fiscal regularity and social order. They cherished liberty and virtue, to be sure, for to deny either would gainsay the revolution. But Shays' Rebellion warned them that liberty not balanced by authority would lead to anarchy. The followers of Daniel Shays, we now know, were not a propertyless mob, but property-owning farmers trying to keep what they had. For Federalists, however, they symbolized the fatal weakness of authority in the Articles government. The new constitution would curb popularly-controlled state legislatures and give the national government the power to create an environment favorable to the advancement of commerce and manufacturing: national markets unhindered by state obstructionism; sound currency; the authority to conclude commercial treaties and a navy to defend them if necessary.

Historians are currently debating whether republican idealism or liberal individualism was the dominant cultural motif of post-Revolutionary America. For Massachusetts Federalists, there was no serious disjunction between the two. Self-interest was up front with the Federalists at the convention, but it was New England self-interest which they linked with commerce and manufacturing. If prosperity came and luxury and leisure--along with tea assemblies, art, and high culture--so much the better. These things did in fact come in the next half-century, with a force that transformed New England. At the pinnacle of the new social order that replaced Sam Adams' Spartan republic were Harrison Gray Otis and his wife Sally--still very much in love.

Federalist unity and talent carried the day for ratification in Massachusetts, which makes it tempting to agree with scholars like John Fiske who argued that the Anti-Federalists deserved to lose because they were men of little faith and narrow vision. Recent scholarship, however, has done much to reverse this dark view of the Anti-Federalists.

Localists they were and from our vantage point they do appear excessively conspiracy-minded. And for self-proclaimed champions of liberty, they were remarkably pessimistic about human capacity for self-government. Nevertheless, the 20th century has proven them right about the need to protect liberty from overweening government. By insisting on a bill of rights over the ill-founded objections of the Federalists, they entered positively into the process of constitution-making. Indeed, no part of the Constitution is more relevant today, though surely the Anti-Federalists would have been astonished to find that the bill of rights, designed to protect citizens against the national government, has been, thanks to the 14th amendment, employed mainly against the states.

Clearly, neither the Anti-Federalists nor Federalists saw it all. Both managed to institutionalize a significant portion of their political ideology. They also managed to set aside their differences--just as Otis and Adams in the play came to stand on common ground. One of the most intriguing questions posed by the play, indeed, is not what separated Adams and Otis, Anti-Federalist and Federalist, but what brought them together. The answer is no doubt complex. Part of the explanation surely rests in the harmonizing potency of the Revolution itself. Important, also, is the fact that the framers fashioned their new constitution from native materials. The great constitutional principles of federalism, separation of powers, representative government and rule of law had all been adumbrated during the colonial period. Americans who supported the Constitution in 1788, as well as those who accepted its legitimacy in the troubled decades to follow, did so in no small part because it spoke to the future in an idiom familiar to the 18th century.

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Elliot, Jonathan, ed. *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, 1787.* 5 vols. Philadelphia and Washington, DC, 1836-1859.

Harding, Samuel B. *The Contest over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts.* New York: Da Capo, 1970 (orig. published, New York, 1896).

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Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic: Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States, 1775-1787.* Philadelphia, 1983.

Storing, Herbert J. *The Complete Anti-Federalist.* 6 vols. Chicago, 1981.

_____. *What the Anti-Federalists Were For.* Chicago, 1981. A separate reprint of the general introduction to *The Complete Anti-Federalist.*

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787.* Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1969.

In which the four characters discuss the costs and benefits of the proposed Constitution in terms of state sovereignty, individual rights, centralized government and popular sovereignty, as well as the need for ten or twelve amendments to the Constitution designed to protect states' rights and individual liberty. As they gather with fellow patriots at the Green Dragon Tavern, the play, Dear and Gentle Reader, reaches a Grand Finale.

The same afternoon.
BETSEY is pouring tea.

. . . .

SAM: Ask it again. Please.

BETSEY: My question turns on the expression "We the People" rather than "We the States."

SAM: The People are the States.

BETSEY: Therefore, the nation is the People. "We the People." I like it.

SAM: But it is already millions of people, Betsey. And there are more every year. The new Constitution attempts to be a compact for all Americans no matter where they live. It's too large. Too impersonal. A breeding ground for tyranny. Look at Great Britain.

BETSEY: The Constitution does not ask Americans to obey a monarch. I see no provision for a ruling class.

SAM: Of course not. We shall all vote for our king instead!

BETSEY: My copy says that the President shall be elected for a term of four years.

SAM: I know what it says.

TAKE NOTE

In this scene, reference is made to the political ambitions of John Hancock and Sam Adams, and to statehood for Vermont.

During your concluding discussion, you may wish to review the key points in the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debate highlighted on page 85, as well as reading aloud the Preamble to the Constitution which is discussed in the final scene.

GLOSSARY

amendment: n. A constitutional change.
analogy: n. A relation or likeness between two things or of one thing to or with another.
apathetic: adj. Indifferent; lacking normal feeling or interest.
aspiration: n. Ambition, a strong wish.
Bill of Rights: n. A list of the rights every citizen has.
centralized: adj. Under one system of control.
confederacy: n. An alliance of independent states in which the central government has only limited power.
conviction: n. A strong persuasion or belief.
daft: adj. Foolish, crazy, insane.
dissenter: n. Nonconformist; one who differs in opinion.
grandiose: adj. Impressive or imposing; displaying grandeur.
habitué: n. One who frequents a place.
haggle: v. To wrangle, to make difficulties in bargaining.
idealist: n. A visionary, a dreamer.
peer: n. An equal; one of the same rank or station.
Preamble: n. The introduction to the U.S. Constitution, which states the overall goals of the nation.
ratify: v. To formally agree; in the case of a constitutional amendment, by 2/3 of the voters.
reactionary: n. One who favors a return to an older order in politics.
relinquish: v. To give up, abandon, quit.

BETSEY: Then stop revising it to accommodate your fears. And drink your tea before it gets cold.

SAM: I have fought to make this country unlike any other in history.

BETSEY: And you have succeeded.

SAM: But now, less than twelve years after declaring independence, I am faced with the possibility of centralized government rather than a union of sovereign states.

BETSEY: Why are you so suspicious of the idea? The Preamble states "in order to form a more perfect union."

SAM: The best government plays the least part in men's daily lives.

BETSEY: Then why are so many dissatisfied with the Articles of Confederation?

SAM: There are always dissenters.

BETSEY: Yes, I know. I married one.

. . . .

BETSEY: You should go with me to the market someday and listen to the political harangues that accompany the haggling over the price of mutton. It is most invigorating.

SAM: It is the voice of ignorance you hear. We must remain united.

FURTHER READING

Popular Sovereignty and the Bill of Rights

Curry, Thomas. *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986.

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Levy, Leonard W. *Origins of the Fifth Amendment: The Right Against Self-Incrimination*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968.

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_____. "The Bill of Rights." In Leonard W. Levy, ed. *Essays on the Making of the Constitution*. 2 ed. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1988.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Make a list of the arguments for and against ratification of the U.S. Constitution made by Sally, Betsey, Samuel and Harrison in this play. What other arguments pro and con would you have made had you lived in 1788?

2. Sam criticized the new Constitution because, in his words, it attempted "to be a compact for all Americans no matter where they live. It's too large. Too impersonal. A breeding ground for tyranny . . . Less than 12 years after declaring independence, I am faced

BETSEY: Apparently some folk are not convinced that the Articles of Confederation are designed to do just that.

SAM: What have I said time and again? The people must be educated. Teach them to read and write and think.

BETSEY: But there must be someone who will know to ask them the right questions.

SAM: Aye, madam. I have tried.

BETSEY: Is it possible that the Articles of Confederation are, in truth, only the first step toward the union we need to survive as a nation?

SAM: A first step?

BETSEY: Like that of any child learning to make its way in the world.

SAM: We are not talking of infants.

BETSEY: No. We are discussing a twelve-year-old. One who is looking for your guidance, saying: "I have earned my freedom. How can I best use it?"

. . . .

OTIS: Mr. Adams, I have been studying the new Constitution.

SAM: So have we.

OTIS: If I had the opportunity to vote tomorrow, as you do, I would

with the possibility of centralized government rather than a union of sovereign states."

What historical events or conditions prior to, during and immediately after the Revolution might have influenced Samuel Adams' views and fed his fears about concentrating too much power in a central government?

3. In your opinion, did the Articles of Confederation create a "United States of America"? Why or why not?

4. Betsey Adams suggested that the Articles of Confederation were "only the first step toward the union we need to survive as a nation . . . like that of any child learning to make its way in the world." Evaluate this analogy. Do you agree with it? How does it compare to the marriage contract analogy Sally used in Scene 9?

5. James Madison, the man who has been called the Father of the Constitution, wrote to George Washington, "I have sought for a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful."

In your opinion does the U.S. Constitution achieve this goal? What do you think Sam Adams would have thought about Madison's statement? Pretend to be Adams and write Madison a letter in reply.

6. Nicholas Gilman, one of New Hampshire's delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, said, "Notwithstanding its imperfections, on the adoption of it [the Constitution] depends, in my feeble judgment, whether we shall become a respectable nation, or a people torn to pieces . . . and rendered contemptible for ages." Would Harrison Otis have agreed with Gilman? Would Sally have? Explain.

7. What arguments does Harrison use to try to convince Adams to vote to ratify the Constitution? Adams' fears that "instead of 13 republics, a true Confederacy, there will be one centralized government. The State governments will dwindle into insignificance and the voice of the people will be lost forever." How does Harrison counter this concern? If you were alive in 1788, would Otis' argument have convinced you? Why or why not?

Looking back today, were Adams' fears valid?

approve and ratify it. There is no question in my mind.

SAM: Then, Harrison, why are you here?

OTIS: Sir?

SAM: If you have made your decision, what use am I to you?

OTIS: Have you decided?

SAM: Answer my question, please.

OTIS: All right. I am here because you are very influential.

SAM: I have one vote, just like all my peers.

OTIS: But your peers are not Samuel Adams. Your peers look to you for guidance. You can't deny that.

SAM: Harrison, you are thinking of another time.

OTIS: Am I?

SAM: When you were a child--

SAM stops. Pause.

OTIS: Mr. Adams? Are you not feeling well?

SAM: I am fine, thank you, and I am undecided.

OTIS: Good! Because everyone thinks you have already decided to vote against ratification.

SAM: They do?

8. Sam proposes a toast in this scene: "The States united and the States separate." Explain what this toast means. What toast would you have given?

9. At the end of scene 10, Sally explains her views on the Constitution to Sam. Summarize her argument.

10. Sally creates a second analogy to describe the United States of America. She explains that "a contract should bind the States together without giving them the license to make decisions without consulting their partners." She criticizes the Articles of Confederation by likening it to a quilting bee, in which the group is asked "to make all the pieces for a quilt but then [forgets] to sew them together. What would be the purpose of all that work? Just a lot of pretty patches." Explain Sally's analogy further. Do you agree with it? Why or why not?

11. Which of the analogies used in the play--the marriage contract, the child learning to walk, or the patchwork quilt--do you feel is the best? Why? Use one of the three analogies or one of your own as the basis of a poem on the creation and ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

12. Sally makes reference to the possibility of Vermont becoming a state. What is the process by which a territory becomes a state? Where in the Constitution is this process described? How many territories does the U.S. have today? Which, if any, do you think should become states and why?

OTIS: You should hear them. (mimics) "Well, we'll never get Sam Adams' vote. He thinks the Articles of Confederation are sacred."

SAM: Most intriguing. What else do they say?

OTIS: They say you are afraid that Mr. Hancock might become President.

SAM: Go on.

OTIS: One or two have mentioned your age. But only in passing, sir. They meant nothing by it, I'm sure.

SAM: I'm sure. An interesting portrait they have painted, isn't it? A jealous old man whose opinions are as fixed as the North Star.

OTIS: But these people don't know you, sir. It is easy to pass judgments on those one has never met.

SAM: How convenient it must be to put all of us old men in the reactionary camp, desperately clinging to the old ways because we are too afraid or too tired to explore the new.

OTIS: I should have kept silent. I'm sorry.

SAM: I asked you a question, Harrison. I did not ask for protection from the truth. Your apology is not accepted. There are many in Boston who shun my company because I choose to

13. In the last act of the play, Harrison Gray Otis says, "Politics is everyman's business." What does Harrison mean? Do you agree? If so, in what way can someone your age become a "businessman" or "businesswoman"? Write your opinion as a newspaper editorial.

14. In Scene 5, Samuel Adams refuses to dine at the Green Dragon because "the place belongs to a new generation now." What made him change his mind about going to the Green Dragon three years later?

15. Samuel Adams stresses the importance of citizens in a republic being "able to read opposing points of view" in a free press. Where in the proposed Constitution of 1788 was freedom of the press protected? What argument does Sam give for why a free press is so important in a democratic republic? Imagine that the president was allowed to censor all news reports critical of him or her. Create a scenario to show how such censorship would damage our democracy.

16. It has been said that Samuel Adams and his fellow Americans waged a revolution not so much to gain new freedoms, as to preserve traditional liberties that had been denied. Why did Adams fear that the adoption of the new Constitution would be the equivalent of "relinquishing a freedom already won"?

17. While Samuel was concerned about giving up freedoms he already enjoyed, other Americans were concerned about gaining freedoms they did not already have. Imagine you live in a New England town in 1788. Make notes for a speech you intend to make at town meeting, arguing for or against ratification based on the fact that slavery is permitted under the new Constitution.

18. Although Sally and Betsey become active in the debate on the Constitution, that Constitution gave them little power. As written in 1788, it did not allow women to enjoy, in Sam's words, "all the rights and responsibilities due any American." Why do you think the two women in the play never mention this fact? If you had been a delegate to the ratification convention, would this exclusion have led you to vote against the Constitution?

19. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular." Would Sam Adams have agreed? Do you? Explain.

20. Sam suggests that 10 or 12 amendments be added to the Constitution. Where in the Constitution is the process of amendment described? If you could have suggested only one

befriend the artisans and mechanics. They are rough, unpolished men, but they are the very heart of this nation. I have learned much about how the people think by listening to them.

OTIS: And what are they saying to you?

SAM: If I am to believe my friend, Paul Revere, I should have no doubts whatsoever about ratifying the new Constitution. But I have great fears, not because I wish to remain in the past but because I foresee new troubles for our future.

OTIS: But the new Constitution is designed to serve the future. To protect us from foreign conquest, to revive our export business . . .

SAM: And what of the States? Instead of thirteen republics, a true Confederacy, there will be one centralized government. The State governments will dwindle into insignificance and the voice of the people will be lost forever.

. . . .

SAM: What of your theory?

SALLY: You will laugh at my simplicity.

SAM: Perhaps. But is laughter such a bad thing for a complicated old man?

SALLY: Harry was telling me what was wrong with the Articles of Confederation. And I said it

amendment to the Constitution as written in 1788, what would it have been and why?

21. Summarize the first 10 Amendments to the Constitution. When were they adopted? Select one of these amendments and explain why it is important to you in your life today as an American citizen.

22. Scene 10 concludes in this way:

> BETSEY: If we don't hurry, we shall be caught in a storm.
> Sam: My dear, I think it is already here.

What did Sam mean?

ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES

There's a Tavern in the Town

As the play ends, the four characters join other Americans in the Green Dragon Tavern. Pretend you are there, too. Work with classmates to enact the tavern scene. Play the parts of not only the four characters in this play but also Paul Revere and the mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen and women who work and visit the Green Dragon. During your discussion suggests additions to the Constitution. As Sam says, "Ten or twelve [amendments] should be sounded like a bad marriage contract.

SAM: Yes?

SALLY: That's what I said. And here we are.

SAM: I see.

SALLY: Harry didn't understand me, either. At first.

SAM: But he does now.

SALLY: Oh, yes. I told him you can't have a marriage--a union--if all the States pledge to stand together and then turn around and do whatever they please. There's no trust in that, is there? (Pause) Have I confused you, too, sir?

SAM: Please continue.

SALLY: Well, it seems that a contract should bind the States together without giving them the license to make decisions without consulting their partners.

SAM: The Articles of Confederation were created for that purpose.

SALLY: Which? To bind them together or to give them individual licence?

SAM: Both.

SALLY: I find that most confusing, don't you?

SAM: Why?

sufficient." Afterwards, in your debriefing of the activity, compare your list to the Bill of Rights which became, by Act of the First U.S. Congress, part of our Constitution in 1791.

A Question of Amending

Work in small groups to research which states suggested amendments to the Constitution. List and compare the suggested amendments. How are they similar or dissimilar? Which ended up in the Constitution?

Match Game

The following are selected quotes by Federalists/Anti-Federalists. Students must say which character in play would agree with each quote.

We must forget our local habits & attachments and be reduced to one faith and one government.

Government is the Servant not the Master of the People. . . .

What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If Angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal control on men would be necessary. In framing a government, which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself.

A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government, but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

That government is best which governs least.

A few years ago, we fought for liberty. We framed a general government of free principles. We placed the state legislatures, in whom the people have a full and a fair representation, between Congress and the People. We were then too cautious, and too much

SALLY: Well, it's like asking a group to make all the pieces for a quilt and then forgetting to sew them together. What would be the purpose of all that work? Just a lot of pretty patches.

SAM: Thirteen pretty patches?

SALLY: Oh, there will be more than that. My cousin in Vermont tells me that some people there are already talking of statehood.

BETSEY and OTIS enter. He places the tea tray on the table.

If the Articles of Confederation haven't succeeded in uniting thirteen, what will become of the fourteenth? Will my cousin be just as much a citizen as I am? (to BETSEY) No sugar, thank you.

Brief silence as the tea cups are handed out by Harry.

Pause.

BETSEY: Samuel, the girl asked you a question.

SAM: I would like to propose a toast: the States united and the States separate. (to SALLY) And tell your cousin that should the Republic of Vermont become a state, she and her fellow citizens shall have all the rights and responsibilities due any American.

SALLY: I shall do that.

. . . .

restricted the powers of the General Government. But now it is proposed to go into the contrary--to remove all barriers, to give the new government free access to our pockets and ample command of our persons and all that without providing for a genuine and fair representation of the People.

Skits

Today there are 26 amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Work in pairs to create skits to illustrate various amendments. Present the skits to your class or at a school assembly. Have the audience guess which amendment you are enacting.

Good Morning New England

Plan and produce a morning TV talk show. Your guests are Sally Foster, Harrison Otis, and Betsey and Sam Adams. Invite your TV audience to participate by asking these historical personages about whether or not their hopes and fears about the Constitution of 1788 have been realized in the 200 plus years since its ratification. What do they see as the major constitutional questions ahead in the next century?

SAM: But what about tomorrow, Harrison? What if the new Constitution is ratified? Will you and I still have the benefit of a free press?

OTIS: Of course.

SAM: Show me.

SAM hands OTIS his copy of the Constitution.

OTIS: It isn't in the document itself.

SAM: A terrible thought, isn't it? To relinquish a freedom already won.

. . . .

OTIS: You wish to add an amendment?

SAM: Ten or twelve should be sufficient.

. . . .

BETSEY and SALLY enter.

BETSEY: Samuel, my hand is starting to ache. If we don't hurry, we shall be caught in a storm.

SAM: My dear, I think it is already here.

Concluding Activities

Tea Assembly

As a concluding activity for "The Other Boston Tea Party," have students invite their school and community to attend a Tea Assembly at which students will show the videotape and work with a local historian, humanist or you yourself to lead a discussion of the play with the audience. The Tea Assembly could be held in the school auditorium, town hall or a local home for the elderly. All students can participate in various capacities, creating invitations, programs and publicity for the event, baking cakes and serving tea, working to develop discussion questions, serving as panelists to lead the discussion and reporting for local media on the event.

Through such an activity, students can "give back" something to their community by sharing the knowledge they have just gained about our most fundamental charter.

Community Action Project

All the characters in the play believed in the importance of civic virtue and active involvement in self-government. As a culminating activity, select a community service project such as park cleanup, a recycling project, visiting local nursing homes, a petition drive, etc. After working on the project, write about it and why it was important, both to you individually and to your community.

What Happens Next?

What happened next? Viewers are bound to be curious. Did Sam vote for the Constitution? Was it ratified by Massachusetts? With or without "10 or 12" amendments? And what about each of the four characters. Did Betsey and Sam live to a ripe old age? Did Sam ever run for higher political office? Were Sally and Harrison ever married?

For more information refer back to the brief biographies at the beginning of the guide and to the essay on the Massachusetts ratifying convention which follows.

On Union St. Near Haymarket Square John Johnson Portrait Painter 4 Water St. Boston

The Green Dragon Tavern

Reproduction courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society

Decisions about the Constitution at the Massachusetts Convention, 1788

From *Lessons on the Federalist Papers*
by John J. Patrick and Claire W. Keller

Congress sent the Constitution to the states on September 29, 1787. How would citizens judge it? The Constitution could not become the nation's plan for government without the approval of at least nine state conventions.

As of January 9, 1788, five states had ratified the Constitution--Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut. However, only one of the four largest states (Pennsylvania) had approved it. The other three biggest states, Massachusetts, Virginia and New York, had not yet reached decisions.

The attention of the nation turned to Boston, Massachusetts, where the state convention debated the Constitution in January, 1788. Citizens of Massachusetts were sharply divided. At the start of the convention, a slight majority of the delegates seemed to favor the Anti-Federalist position in opposition to the Constitution.

The Federalists were worried. They knew that the decision in Massachusetts would greatly influence the conventions in New York and Virginia scheduled to convene later in the year. They also realized that the United States needed Massachusetts, a thriving center of commerce. It seemed that the delegates to the Massachusetts Convention would play a leading role in deciding the future of the United States.

Rufus King and Nathaniel Gorham led the Federalists at the convention. They had been delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Elbridge Gerry had also represented Massachusetts at the convention in Philadelphia. In the end, however, Gerry refused to sign the finished document, and he continued to oppose it.

The two most famous and influential delegates at the Boston convention were John Hancock and Sam Adams, the legendary heroes of the American struggle for independence. In a close contest, these two men enjoyed enough popularity to turn the convention *for* or *against* the Constitution.

On the first day of the convention, delegates elected John Hancock as President of the meeting. The Federalists worried, because Hancock had not taken a stand for or against

ratification. Some of his friends reported that he was leaning toward the Anti-Federalist side.

Sam Adams said that he had "difficulties and doubts respecting some parts of the proposed Constitution." Adams had two main objections. First, he had reservations because the Constitution included no provisions protecting such liberties and rights of citizens as freedom of speech. Second, he believed that the Constitution gave too much power to the central government. By contrast, Adams wanted each state government to have more powers and rights. Adams said that "all powers not expressly delegated to Congress should be reserved to the States, to be exercised by them."

William Thompson, a delegate from Billerica, agreed with Adams. "Where is the bill of rights which shall check the power of the Congress," he said. Thompson also saw no need for a new Constitution. "Let us amend the old Confederation," he said. Thompson believed that a few changes in the Articles of Confederation would solve the nation's governmental problems.

Amos Singletary, a farmer himself, spoke for the many poor farmers from Worcester County who were alarmed by the government's power to tax citizens. He also feared that the national government under the new Constitution would only represent rich people. Amos Singletary rose to speak:

> *We contended with Great Britain . . . because they claimed a right to tax us and bind us in all cases whatever. And does not this constitution do the same? Does it not take away all we have--all our property? Does it not lay all taxes, duties, imports and excises? And what more have we to give?*
>
> *These lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves. They expect to be the managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands. And they will swallow up all us little folks.*

Josiah Smith, a farmer from Plymouth County, disagreed with Singletary. He spoke to the other delegates:

> *Mr. President, I am a plain man, and get my living by the plough. I am not used to speak in public, but I beg your leave to say a few words to my brother plough-joggers in this house.*
>
> *I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it . . . Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch anything that looked like a government. Had any person that was able to protect us come and set up his standard, we should all have flocked to it, even if it had been a monarch, and that monarch might*

have proved a tyrant. So that you see that anarchy leads to tyranny; and better to have one tyrant than so many at once.

Now, Mr. President, when I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. It was just such a thing as we wanted. I got a copy of it and read it over and over. I had been a member of the convention to form our own state constitution, and had learnt something of the checks and balances of power; and I found them all here. . . .

I formed my own opinion and was pleased with this Constitution. My honorable old daddy there (pointing to Mr. Singletary) won't think that I expect to be a Congressman, and swallow up the liberties of the people. I never had any post, nor do I want one. But I don't think the worse of the Constitution because lawyers and men of learning, and moneyed men, are fond of it. . . .

Sam Adams listened sadly to the lively exchanges of opinions. Most of the delegates would not have blamed Adams if he had not come to the meetings. His son had died during the first week of the Convention. The meetings had adjourned for one day as a sign of respect for Adams, and the delegates had attended the funeral. Sam Adams insisted on returning to work the next day. Citizens had elected him to represent them, and he had an obligation to participate in the Convention on their behalf.

Adams' opposition to the Constitution lessened when he heard about the changing opinions of his Boston constituents. These citizens held a meeting at the Green Dragon Inn on Union Street. A large majority voted to back the Constitution if an added Bill of Rights protected the liberties of citizens against the powers of the government.

Paul Revere reported to Adams about the meeting at the Green Dragon. Adams believed his duty required him to support the wishes of the majority of citizens whom he represented. So he decided to support the Constitution, as long as recommendations calling for the ratification of a Bill of Rights accompanied the approved document.

The arguments of people like Josiah Smith also influenced Adams. He hated anarchy as much as tyranny. He favored law and order, as well as legal guarantees of the rights of citizens.

Sam Adams believed that the United States could not function effectively without a central government strong enough to enforce laws and maintain unity. Adams and his contemporaries faced the challenge of somehow balancing the power of the central government against the limits on the power which would protect the rights of citizens and their state governments.

John Hancock had reached the same conclusion as Adams. If assured that a Bill of Rights would add certain protections to the Constitution, he too would back ratification.

Rumors suggested that Hancock also had other motives. Some people claimed that Hancock made a deal with the Federalists. They agreed to back him in his campaign for re-election as Governor of Massachusetts, in return for his supporting the Constitution. Furthermore, so the story goes, they promised to help him win election as the first Vice President under the new Constitution.

Hancock and Adams met and decided to cooperate and win support for the Constitution. Thus, on January 31, Hancock made a speech for the Constitution. Then he presented a series of amendments, which would guard the liberties of citizens and the rights of state governments. He pledged to vote for ratification if, in return, the Federalist pledged to support his amendments to the Constitution.

Sam Adams seconded Hancock's proposal and made a speech in favor of the Constitution supplemented by a Bill of Rights. Rufus King, Nathaniel Gorham, and other Federalists at the Convention agreed to the Hancock-Adams proposal.

The hard-line Anti-Federalists were shocked. They had expected a victory. The sensational speeches by Hancock and Adams suddenly revived the hopes of the Federalists. In all likelihood, several delegates would follow Hancock and Adams and vote for ratification.

The vote on February 5, 1788, was very close. One hundred and eighty-seven votes supported the Constitution and 168 opposed it. The Federalists mustered only 19 more votes than their opponents at a convention attended by 355 delegates.

Sam Adams and John Hancock probably played a central role in determining the outcome at the Massachusetts Convention. If they had strongly opposed the Constitution, it probably would have failed to pass.

The decision in Massachusetts influenced delegates in other states. New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify on June 21, 1788. On that day, with the required number of states having approved the document, the Constitution officially became the basic law of the United States. Virginia ratified it four days later. New York followed suit one month later. Each of these state conventions ratified the Constitution on condition that certain amendments would be made, as Massachusetts had done.

Notice the narrow margins of victory recorded in New Hampshire, Virginia and New York. If Massachusetts had voted against the Constitution, these other states might not have ratified it.

Hancock's popularity soared after the Convention. He was re-elected as Governor. Adams won the position of Lieutenant Governor. However, Hancock failed miserably in his bid to become Vice President of the United States. His Federalist friends did not

support him, and John Adams, Sam Adams' cousin, won easily. George Washington became the first President with unanimous support.

The Federalists in Congress fulfilled their pledges to add a Bill of Rights to the Constitution. Congress in 1789 approved ten amendments. The states then approved the amendments, as directed by the Constitution. In 1791, the Bill of Rights became part of the Constitution.

John Hancock served as governor of Massachusetts until his death in 1793. Sam Adams took over as governor and was continuously re-elected until his death in 1803. The two heroes of the American Revolution had not participated in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. They did play critical roles in the contest over ratification of the new plan for government. Without their decisive support, the Constitution might not have been accepted.

This essay was taken from *Lessons on the Federalist Papers* by John J. Patrick and Claire W. Keller. For more information, or to obtain a copy of the full text, write:

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APPENDICES

1. Teaching Tips
2. Complete Glossary
3. Index of Activities

Teaching Tips

A variety of activities and teaching strategies are presented in this guide. Many activities are easily adapted by a slight change in format. Class discussions can be enhanced through using creative techniques to more actively involve students in the discussion. The following are some suggestions which can be used to accomplish these goals.

- *Good Morning New England*: A different discussion approach in which historical personages are "invited" by a TV host(s) to discuss a particular issue or series of topics on a morning TV talk show.

- *Opinion Poll/Survey*: Used to clarify views and values on a particular issue.

- *Role Play*: Allows students to assume roles and appreciate other points of view, which provide a springboard for discussion.

- *Simulation*: Involves students in realistic experiences modeled after actual or hypothetical situations.

- *Clipping Thesis*: Teaches students to research an issue and track policy development through collecting and analyzing news articles, editorials and cartoons.

- *Case Study*: Promotes thorough examination of legal questions by requiring students to examine facts, identify issues, understand arguments, and support decisions. The case study is an essential strategy in studying law and using legal reasoning.

- *Inside the Jury Room*: Groups of 12 student jurors deliberate cases and experience firsthand the group resolution process and the task of promoting justice.

- *Mock Trial*: Allows first-hand experience in trial procedure and enhances communication, reasoning and group process skills.

- *Appellate Court Simulation*: Requires that students deliver arguments for appellant and appellee in actual state and federal Supreme Court cases.

- *Adversary Model*: Involves two "attorneys" arguing before one "justice" in a modified version of appellate simulation.

- *Class Continuum*: Allows students to demonstrate where they "stand" on an issue, by physically placing themselves in a continuum line.

- *Oprah/Donahue Discussion*: Offers a stimulating way to explore many sides of an issue. Students can express their own views, or as "the audience," pretend to be a member of a particular political or interest group and express the views which a person from that group might have on a particular issue.

- *Classroom Visitors*: Promotes realism by inviting professionals (lawyers, police officers, judges, reporters, political representatives) into class to discuss topics relevant to their experience.

- *Learning Stations*: Provides a structured learning environment, while allowing students to move about freely; also promotes the gathering and synthesizing of information.

- *Game Inventing*: Creating a board game or other type of game helps students creatively explore a principle or period of history and offers them an enjoyable problem-solving approach to synthesizing their own knowledge on a given topic.

Note: In any of these activities, particularly case studies, roleplays and simulations, the most important part of the educational experience is *debriefing* at the end of the activity. Always leave enough time to have a discussion in which students can express both their thoughts and feelings about the activity. What general conclusions do they make as a result of the activity? What have they learned? Did their opinion on the topic or issue in question change as a result of the exercise? Why or why not?

Complete Glossary

affectation: n. An attempt to assume or exhibit what is not natural or real; esp. in speech or behavior.
amendment: n. A constitutional change.
analogy: n. A relation or likeness between two things or of one thing to or with another.
anarchy: n. The state of society where there is no law or supreme power; political disorder.
apathetic: adj. Indifferent; lacking normal feeling or interest.
appraisal: n. An estimated value set on property.
aristocracy: n. Those regarded as superior to the rest of the community, in rank, wealth, and/or intellect.
Articles of Confederation: n. The document written to form the first government for the 13 states.
aspiration: n. Ambition, a strong wish.

behoove: v. To be necessary for; to be proper for.
Bill of Rights: n. A list of the rights every citizen has.

censor: n. One who acts as an overseer of morals and conduct; one who edits or limits what can be said or written.
centralized: adj. Under one system of control.
Common: n. A piece of land, owned jointly and used by the entire community.
conceited: adj. Entertaining a flattering opinion of oneself.
confederacy: n. An alliance of independent states in which the central government has only limited power.
Congress: n. The legislature of the United States.
constitution: n. A plan of government that describes the most important beliefs and laws by which the people are to be governed.
conviction: n. A strong persuasion or belief.
copious: adj. Plentiful, abundant.
coquette: n. (French) a flirt.

daft: adj. Foolish, crazy, insane.
Declaration of Independence: n. The document, written by Thomas Jefferson and signed by representatives from the 13 colonies, declaring American independence from Great Britain.
decrepit: adj. Broken down with age; worn out.
demeanor: n. Outward bearing or behavior.
depravity: n. State of being corrupt.
dissenter: n. Nonconformist; one who differs in opinion.
dissipation: n. State of being intemperate; unable to function.
diversion: n. That which relaxes and amuses; sport; pastime.
dubious: adj. Doubtful, not clear or straightforward.

edification: n. Moral or spiritual instruction.
elitism: n. Governance based on a group or body considered or treated as socially superior.

facade: n. The face or front of anything.
faction: n. A party, combination, or clique within a state.
fop: n. A conceited pretender; a dandy.

given name: n. The name one is born with.
government: n. The established form of political organization for a society.
grandiose: adj. Impressive or imposing; displaying grandeur.

habitué: n. One who frequents a place.
haggle: v. To wrangle, to make difficulties in bargaining.
histrionics: n. Pertaining to the stage or actors; theatrical; melodramatic.

idealist: n. A visionary, a dreamer.
incendiary: adj. Tending to incite or inflame; seditious.
infamy: n. Public disgrace, dishonor or reproach.
intemperance: n. Immoderate indulgence of appetites; habitual or excessive indulgence in intoxicants.
invigorating: adj. Energizing, strengthening.

levity: n. Unseemly frivolity, trifling gaiety.

mechanic: n. One who practices any mechanic art; an artisan.
moral dialogue: n. A play which seeks to edify or to instruct morally or spiritually.
morality: n. Ideals or principles of human conduct considered proper or right by the majority of the society.
Muses: n. Nine goddesses in Greek mythology; the inspiring goddess of a poet.

pauper: n. A very poor person.
peer: n. An equal; one of the same rank or station.
perpetuate: v. To give an enduring character or existence to.
pompous: adj. Characterized by ostentation, self-important.
Preamble: n. The introduction to the U.S. Constitution, which states the overall goals of the nation.
preclude: v. To render ineffectual or impossible; to shut out.
prudence: n. Ability to discipline oneself through the exercise of reason.

quota: n. A certain proportional share assigned to each in a division or to each member or body.

ratify: v. To formally agree; in the case of a constitutional amendment, by 2/3 of the voters.
reactionary: n. One who favors a return to an older order in politics.
relinquish: v. To give up, abandon, quit.
replication: n. Reproduction or copy.

Sans Souci Club: See *Tea Assembly*. *Sans Souci* is french for "without care."
score: n. A group of twenty, represented by a notch on a tally; hence, a large number.
scrupulous: adj. Careful; exact.
self-righteous: adj. Self-important; censorious of others' manners and morals.
sentiment: n. Refined feeling.
station: n. Social standing, rank or condition in life.
sycophant: n. A false accuser; a flatterer.

tainted: adj. Affected with corrupting influence; contaminated.
taunt: v. To jeer at; ridicule.
Tea Assembly: n. A social club where young people in Boston danced, played cards, listened to music and drank wine, tea and coffee.
tedious: adj. Tiresome, boring.
tonic: A medicine having an invigorating effect.

vagabond: n. One who wanders from place to place; a homeless person.
vexing: adj. Annoying, irritating.

War of Independence: n. The American Revolution.

zeal: n. Enthusiasm; fervor.

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The Other Boston Tea Party

Playwright ..... **Jack Carroll**
Director ..... **Greg Harney**
Artistic Director ..... **June Judson**
Historical Consultant ..... **Robert Gross**

Starring

Richard Lawrence ..... *Samuel Adams*
Shirley Nemetz-Ress ..... *Betsey Adams*
Jonathan Voyce ..... *Harrison Gray Otis*
Andrea Southwick ..... *Sally Foster*

"The Other Boston Tea Party" Project would not have been possible without

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